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CONTENTS.

PAGE

SPAIN AND MODERN CIVILIZATION..... 513
Rev. P. H. SWIFT, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

SOME FRIENDS OF MINE..... 524
Rev. D. G. DOWNEY, M.A., Brooklyn, New York City.

THE HYPOTHETICAL OLD TESTAMENT..... 534
Rev. T. McK. STUART, D.D., Chariton, Ia.

THE NEW OLD TESTAMENT..... 543
Professor H. G. MITCHELL, D.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST..... 559
Rev. J. F. CHAFFEE, D.D., Minneapolis, Minn.

WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE, A MINNESINGER OF YESTERDAY..... 575
Professor E. W. BOWEN, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.

THE MILLENNIUM IS AN EVOLUTION..... 587
Rev. E. L. EATON, D.D., Des Moines, Ia.

THE THEISTIC VALUE OF BOWNE'S IDEALISM..... 594
Rev. J. I. BARTHOLOMEW, M.A., Stafford Springs, Conn.

CHRISTIAN LOGIC..... 610
Rev. A. N. CRAFT, D.D., Cortland, O.

THE RENAISSANCE—AN INTRODUCTORY VIEW..... 614
Rev. G. H. DRYER, D.D., Bath, N. Y.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 622
Lanier's Devout Ballad, 622; A Bit of Critical Reconstruction, 624.

THE ARENA..... 630
The Source of Depravity, 630; Church Music, 633; "A New Departure Proposed," 634.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 635
Certificates as Substitutes for Conference Examinations, 635; Things to Be Avoided in a Sermon, 638; An Old Motto with New Significance, 639.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 640
Recent Discoveries in Egypt, 640; Hommel and the Critics, 643.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 644
How German Wesleyans Became American Methodists, 644; The Religious Future of Japan, 646; The New Policy, 647.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 648

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 654

BOOK NOTICES..... 658
Trever's Studies in Comparative Theology, 658; Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, 661; Sherman's Analytics of Literature, 663; Chapman's Emerson, and Other Essays, 666; Higginson's Cheerful Yesterdays, 669; Maurice's The Letters of Victor Hugo, 673; De Windt's Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Straits, 676; MISCELLANEOUS, 678.

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1898.

ART. I.—SPAIN AND MODERN CIVILIZATION.

ONE scientific method of investigation is that of contrast. Let us make free use of this method in the present study. Let us seek to get a clear view of Spain in the days of her glory and as she presents herself to the careful student of history in the closing decade of the nineteenth century.

The marriage of Isabella of Castile, sister of Henry IV, who succeeded the latter in 1474, with Ferdinand, heir of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, led to a union of all the principalities of the Spanish peninsula, and may be said to be the beginning of the Spanish nationality. Then, finally, petty strifes, ignoble intrigues, and graver wars between peoples of the same race came to an end. Ferdinand and Isabella established peace and justice in place of the lawless violence of the nobles that had characterized, as well as cursed, previous reigns for many years. Then was laid the foundation of that magnificent empire which was destined for a time to overshadow every other monarchy of Europe. The double rule which made possible this nationality was followed by that of Charles V, who has been spoken of as "the man who filled the world with woe." He was certainly one of the greatest characters of the century. As King of Spain, ruler of the Netherlands, and the head of the holy Roman German empire he exerted a wonderful influence until he voluntarily left the throne to spend the remaining days of his life in the convent of Yuste. He was succeeded by Philip II, whom one historian speaks of as absolute master of an empire so superior to the other states of the world in extent, in resources, and especially in military

and naval forces, as to make the project of enlarging that empire into a universal monarchy seem a perfectly feasible scheme. "Since the downfall of the Roman empire no such preponderating power had existed in the world." "In addition to the Spanish crown Philip succeeded to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the duchy of Milan, Franche-Comté, and the Netherlands. In Africa he possessed Tunis, Aran, the Cape Verde and the Canary Islands; in Asia, the Philippine and Sunda Islands, and a part of the Moluccas." The voyages, explorations, and conquests of Spanish mariners and adventurers had added a greater part of the southern portion of the New World to his inheritance, including Mexico, Central America, and all South America, except that portion which subsequently came to be Brazil, or, more properly speaking, the lands washed by the Amazon and its tributaries.

Those were the days of Spain's power and glory. Her invincible arms had won victories on nearly every field where her forces had been engaged. Gonsalvo de Cordova had led the veterans of Spain, and everywhere to victory. Don John, as master of the imperial fleet, aided by the forces of the pope and of Venice, had gained the immortal victory at Lepanto, when the forces of the Turk were utterly crushed and vanquished. All the fruits of the maritime enterprises of the Portuguese had fallen into Philip's hands. All the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, and the East Indies had been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of Spain, who had as leaders of his forces men who are recognized as the great masters of war and diplomacy of the sixteenth century. The empire of that day was characterized by vastness of extent and wondrous wealth of resources. Ships returned from the New World bringing silver and gold to pour into the treasury of the king, enabling him to carry on his schemes of conquest and development on the most gigantic scale. Surely Philip II can be pardoned for thinking that the world was at his feet and that the crown of universal empire might easily be placed upon his brow.

Let us look for a time upon another picture. Hardly had the zenith of power and glory been reached till the period of loss began. And this second period has continued to the pres-

ent hour. In 1566 the Netherlands revolted against the robberies and tyranny of Philip II, and especially against the unholy decrees and horrible butcheries of the Inquisition, which had been set up by order of Charles V, who robbed the people of Spain of their liberties while he increased the glory of the empire. That revolt resulted in the eighty years' war, in which the brute force of Spain failed to subdue "the beggars" who had redeemed the land of dykes and ditches from the embrace of the greedy ocean. The record of that struggle is one of the most remarkable in history. There could be only one end. The revolt terminated in freedom for the Dutch and in the establishment of the Dutch Republic, which was the first country in the world to adopt a constitution favoring religious, as well as civil, liberty.

The beginning of the present century brought a world-wide crisis to Spain. She had prepared herself for it by three hundred years of misrule, oppression, and self-imposed darkness. She had closed her eyes to the expanding light of the Renaissance and the Reformation. She had been the tool of the Church that has everywhere endeavored to strangle the right of private judgment, and force religion and piety into the mold of her own making. By the censorship of the press that was enforced by the horrors of the Inquisition she has cut herself and her people off from the enjoyment of the ripe fruits of an advancing science and the very best in literature. There could be only one result. Light is power. Darkness can end only in weakness at last. Spain was enervated by her own policy, and fell an easy victim in the crisis. Napoleon was dominating Europe. Joseph Bonaparte was placed on the throne of Spain. As many as four claimants demanded the loyalty and support of the various colonial provinces. That was an opportunity for the oppressed to throw off the yoke of bondage. It was not neglected. In 1810 Venezuela revolted. Mexico, Central America, and the provinces of South America followed, one after another, in rapid succession. The story of one is the story of all. It was revolt against odious class distinctions and intolerable oppression. The result everywhere was the same until, of all that vast and splendid domain over which Philip II ruled, but

a fragment remains. In Europe she has nothing but the Peninsula; in America only Cuba and Porto Rico are held in an uncertain way; in Africa Morocco, the Canary Islands, and the coast of Guinea alone recognize her authority; in Asia she has been waging war to subdue the revolt in the Philippine Islands, her sole possession, perhaps hers no more. The loss of continents, provinces, and islands tells one certain story. Spain has been too weak to subdue the revolutions which her bigoted colonial policy, greed of gain, hypocritical dealing, and intolerable oppression have raised in every land over which she has attempted to reign. That one fact indicates her relations to progress, while a study of the conditions in the Peninsula reveals the gulf into which the reaction of her own policy has plunged her.

It may be said that Spain has enjoyed a revolution that has extended from 1808 to 1873. Latimer tells us that the revolutions of Spain in this century have been but episodes in the great revolution that was going on during the years which have been named, and which probably may be still in progress. We have seen that Joseph Bonaparte was placed on the throne by French bayonets in 1808. His reign ended in 1813. In 1814 came Napoleon's abdication, and Ferdinand VII was on the throne of Spain. The first thing he did was to reestablish the Inquisition that had been abolished by Joseph Bonaparte. Then we have Ferdinand as a constitutional king, with the slumbering volcano of revolution muttering beneath his throne. This smoldering fire burst out in the first Carlist revolution, and by the close of 1833, the date of Ferdinand's death, the Spain of the past had been shattered to pieces. That first Carlist war lasted seventeen years, and the land was filled with tumult. From 1832 to 1837 Spain "lived under three constitutions, was governed by six ministries, and was twice thrown into the vortex of revolution, in addition to the horrors and devastations of the civil war." The close of that war found Queen Christina on the throne. Then came the revolution of 1854 and the expulsion of Christina, with the tumult and confusion which rolled in ever-devastating waves during the outbursts of the revolution. In 1870, after one hundred and ninety-one ballots in the Cortes, Amadeo of

Savoy was elected constitutional king. He abdicated in 1872. Then Spain was proclaimed a republic by a vote of two hundred and forty-eight against thirty-four. This republic lived for the brief space of two years, during which the land was devastated by the third Carlist war, at the end of which we find Alfonso XII on that throne which had been shaken and overturned so frequently by the volcano of revolution. The Spain of to-day is but a shadow of her former self. She possesses but a tithe of the territory which she once governed. The population of from forty to fifty million over which she once ruled has fallen to seventeen million. Of these not more than four million can read or write. In 1857 she passed a compulsory education law, but repealed it in 1875. Her general standard of mental culture is lower than any other country in Europe, and she is burdened with a debt so great as to render her all but bankrupt in the eyes of the world's financiers.

Surely, the two pictures are drawn in contrasting colors. It will be well worth while to ask for the secret of this decline and the philosophy of this contrast. Why has the greatest state of the sixteenth century gone the downward path, while every other country in Europe has increased in wealth, wisdom, and power? The answer to this question will not only bring before us a truth of vast and vital importance, but will also reveal the attitude of Spain to modern civilization. There is such a thing as providence in history. God is in the world. He has been leading the race by a winding path upward toward the highlands of a better life. Civilization is the result of the upward climb, under the inspiration of the supernatural. But God acts through human agencies. He moves along the path of the natural, even though there are sometimes manifestations which we call supernatural. God has chosen nations, as well as individuals, to carry on his work. Nations have been gifted with power that they might bless and lift up the race. As they have worked with God for this end they have prospered. As they have worked against humanity they have weakened, declined, and fallen at last. The Infinite will not suffer a reversion of type. The shadow on the dial of the world's progress never moves backward. The inferior is never ultimately victorious over the superior.

This is the eternal law. Spain has clashed with that law, and the result that we have observed was inevitable.

Spain's colonial policy has everywhere and forever stood opposed to the advancement of progress and civilization. Modern civilization is characterized by progress in every realm, by expanding intelligence, and by the education of the masses. It is marked by liberty of conscience and ever-increasing floods of light. The glory of modern civilization is the progress of civil and religious liberty, the popularization of and universal participation in freedom. It has ever been the policy of Spain to get everything possible from the colonies and give absolutely the least. At best she could give no more than she had, and she was never disposed to give as good as she had; hence the character of the civilization that we find in South America, where religious liberty is a mere name, and where unbearable tyranny drove province after province into rebellion which resulted in the loss of all to the mother country. It has been the policy of Spain to keep the masses ignorant of those great truths that make the soul free. The existence of seventy-five per cent of the population of the Peninsula who are unable to read or write even their native language will certainly justify this grave charge. There were many schools in the colonies of South America; but, like the schools of Spain, they taught the truths of theology as held by the Catholic Church, while the sciences, mathematics, and natural philosophy were not only regarded as useless, but were positively prohibited. At the time of the great revolution in South America you might have traveled three thousand miles over the length and breadth of Spain's vast domain in the New World and have found only one printing press in all the land; and that was under the control of Jesuit priests, who printed on it only what was agreeable to the home government and the mother Church. One who has spent years in missionary work in South America has said, "It was the policy of Spain to shut out from South America every kind of knowledge incompatible with blind obedience to foreign sway." And the historian Zavala has enumerated the six characteristics which have marked the administration of Spain's colonial system, as follows:

(1) Terror, inspired by the immediate punishment of the slightest symptoms of dissatisfaction without the least opportunity of inquiring for what reason, or by what hand, the blow was inflicted; (2) deep ignorance, which shut out from the public mind whatever the government deemed inexpedient for it to know; (3) a religious education which inculcated the most degrading superstition; (4) the strictest seclusion from all foreign intercourse which might improve the colonies in their civil, religious, or commercial knowledge; (5) the most domineering system of monopoly, extending to land, offices, and commerce; (6) a standing army, not for the defense of the people which supported it, but to awe them into acquiescence in whatever might be the royal pleasure.

Spain has forever manifested a spirit of insincerity, duplicity, and treachery that has lost her the world's respect and confidence. When Ferdinand and Isabella had conquered the Moors in 1491 it was agreed that the conquered race was not to be disturbed in the exercise of their religion. But everybody knows that not many years passed away before pretexts were found for breaking every agreement, and that the horrors of persecution and banishment, with no possibility of reaching a place of safety, can hardly be related in human language. The expulsion of the Moors forms one of the dark chapters in Spain's history. It may be remembered that Pizarro secured easy possession of Peru and the person of the reigning Inca by unspeakable treachery. He was put to death by strangling, and only escaped being burned alive because he professed to accept Christianity before his execution. The capture of Montezuma and his subsequent treatment is a splendid example of Spanish duplicity and treachery, as well as of the Jesuitical doctrine that "the end justifies the means." It will be remembered that William the Silent, the George Washington of the Netherlands, was murdered by an assassin hired by Spain and paid for his bloody work by the gift of an estate in that land. It is the well-authenticated fact of history that Ferdinand VII accepted two million dollars from England, in 1817, as a recompense to Spain for the loss of revenue she might sustain from the abolition of the slave trade. Ferdinand took England's money, but the importation of slaves went on more vigorously than ever before; and Cuba became the great slave market for all the slaveholding countries of the western world. This same Ferdinand, who was restored to

the throne on the fall of the power that had made Joseph Bonaparte master of Spain, is the one to whom the author of *Spain in the Nineteenth Century* refers when she says: "No oath had been more binding upon Ferdinand than the green withes of the Philistines upon the limbs of Samson. Mina, soon after the restoration, discovered how treacherous and worthless was the king for whom he and his followers had shed their blood." There will be recalled the wild, turbulent, tempestuous days of 1820, when the revolution-maddened subjects of a double-dealing monarch who had so often and so basely deceived them rushed like a tempest-swollen mountain torrent on to that memorable 7th of July, 1822, "which was as fatal to the false and fickle crown of Spain as the 10th of August, 1792, had been to that of Louis XVI of France." From the time of Ferdinand I to the present moment diplomacy with the Spaniard has been well-nigh synonymous with deceit. The promises of the queen regent Christina, who succeeded Ferdinand VII and announced herself as a constitutional monarch, were followed by the sending of Don Tacon to the Pearl of the Antilles, where he exceeded all former governors in severity and arbitrary power. Spain has never kept faith with any colony or country when it has been to the interest of despotism to break it. She has not kept faith with Cuba, and it is not surprising that the insurgents have had little confidence in her plan for autonomy and will accept nothing short of absolute independence.

The world has been horrified at the policy of starvation and tyranny that has been resorted to during the Cuban war. Humanity has been shocked as it has been informed of the result of Weyler's infamous order for concentration, in accordance with which over four hundred thousand unarmed and peaceful subjects were driven away from their homes that were burned behind them, and compelled to live in cities where nothing but starvation was before them, and where they were guarded and shot down like dogs if they but attempted to cross the dead line for the simple purpose of digging their own sweet potatoes that their wives and children might not die before their eyes. The world has been horrified by the statement, given forth by the Red Cross Society, that

not less than two hundred and twenty-five thousand Cubans have died by the slow torture of starvation since that order went into effect. But the condition of affairs in Cuba will not surprise the student of history. Spain's idea of war for four hundred years has been that the end justifies the means. The methods of the bloodthirsty Sioux have not been more at variance with modern civilization than have those of that people which for these years has sought to overcome its revolting colonies in the Orient, as well as in the Occident, not in open battle, but by treachery, starvation, and horror.

But the darkest chapter in the history of Spain, and that which shows most clearly that she is out of sympathy with and antagonistic to modern civilization, is that which tells the story of the Inquisition. This was not born in Spain, but in the heart and brain of that Church which has forever stood opposed to freedom of conscience, as well as to the development of modern civil and religious liberty. Its roots are to be found far back in the early ages of the history of the Church, when the bishops claimed the right of inflicting punishment upon heretics. But in those days the severest penalty was that of excommunication. In the fourth century, under Theodosius the Great, we have the first instance of a legally inflicted death penalty for heresy. It was not, however, until the twelfth century that the Inquisition became a general institution of the Church. The fourth Lateran council, in 1215, at the instigation of Pope Innocent III passed a decree by which the Inquisition became permanent. One has well said of it, "It is the most formidable of all the formidable engines devised by popery to subdue the souls and bodies, the reason and conscience of men." To preserve the Church from the stain of bloodguiltiness the civil authorities were made the executors of the judgments of the Church. The sovereigns of France and Germany accepted this duty before the middle of the thirteenth century. Italy followed in 1235. But in none of these countries did the Inquisition ever prove effective. The people would not abide the decree of the Church, and the holy office was curbed and rendered inoperative in a very large measure. It was in Spain alone that the obnoxious plant found congenial soil. Milman, in his *History of Latin Christianity*,

says: "The life of every devout Spaniard was a perpetual crusade. By temperament and by position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the cross. Hatred of the Jews, of the Mohammedans, was the banner under which he served. It was the oath of his chivalry. That hatred in all its intensity was soon and easily extended to the heretic." The holy office was introduced into Aragon in 1242, at which time it was directed with special severity against the Albigenses. It was reformed under the influence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and became a twofold more terrible and deadly engine than before. The term "heresy" was made to apply to everything against which the Church or its bigoted ecclesiastics conceived a hatred. The court of trial was a mere farce. If anyone desired to get rid of an enemy all that he had to do was to charge him with heresy. The accused was considered as guilty from the beginning, and tortured to compel confession. If he professed innocence he was at first tortured by whip, water, and fire. If he still maintained his innocence he was thrust into a horrible dungeon for a time and then tortured again with all the fiendish cruelty that an inventive genius could devise. If under the agony of the rack, the pinchers, or the fire the grand inquisitor obtained such answers as he desired, the crippled and broken sufferer was left to his sufferings without the aid of a physician. After this he received such punishment as the holy office might decree. Generally he was imprisoned for life; sometimes he was sent to the galleys, his property confiscated, and his family dishonored. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the execution of the condemned took place with much ceremony and pomp at what was called an "*auto-da-fé*."

Spain introduced the Inquisition into nearly every territory which she acquired on both sides of the Atlantic. But it was in the Netherlands that it did its deadliest work. The people of that land turned naturally to Protestantism. The Spanish sovereigns, who were accounted the defenders of the faith, determined to root out the heresy. Charles V promulgated two edicts against heretics, and it has been estimated that anywhere from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand perished on the scaffold during his reign in that one land

alone. Charles V was followed by Philip II. He was a bigoted Catholic who determined at once not only to establish Spanish imperialism everywhere, but to root out heresy and restore the Catholic religion wherever it had been set aside by Protestantism. It was for this purpose that the great Spanish Armada was sent against England. This cruel monarch enjoys the unique distinction of having condemned to death on the scaffold the entire population of a country by a single stroke of the pen. It will be remembered that the Inquisition was in force in Spain until it was abolished by decree of Joseph Bonaparte in 1808. Llorente, the historian, estimates that from its introduction into Spain to the date last mentioned the Inquisition condemned to punishment in that one land alone 341,021 persons, 31,912 of whom were burned alive. The result of the Spanish Inquisition was to make it impossible for Protestantism to get a foothold in Spain or to any great extent in the countries which she dominated. It gave the deathblow to free investigation, without which there can be no intellectual advancement. It was the enslavement of the souls of men, which is the death wound to modern civilization. This has been the influence of the Inquisition on the world's progress and modern civilization; and the Inquisition, with all its horrors, was Spain's special gift to the world.

From this rapid review of the centuries it has been most clearly apparent that Spain has antagonized the onward movement of the race and the advance of modern civilization. It is equally apparent—for the future can only be judged by the past—that in the present crisis there is no hope for the struggling colonies from the Madrid government if she is left to herself alone. In the name of humanity, the progress of the race, and the advance of civilization it is time to call a halt. If Spain will persist in standing in the pathway of human advancement she must be pushed aside, that humanity may be left untrammeled to climb to the higher levels to which the pioneers of the centuries have led the way.

Solomus Hamilton Smith

Art. II.—SOME FRIENDS OF MINE.

The windows of the ideal study are supposed to open upon quiet pastoral scenes. Through the casements of such a study one ought to hear, in summer, the note of the oriole and the lark, while, in autumn and winter, meditation is favored and thought is quickened by the rattle of sleet against the window-pane and the crackle of logs on the hearthstone. If these things be really essential to a true study, then we fear that few scholars are so highly favored. From one of the windows of a certain study one can see a wall of brick masonry broken here and there with the windows' deep indentures; from another, in summer time, a few straggling shrubs and a bit of ground that can only by the exercise of imagination be called a lawn; while, from a third, can be seen at eventide the tremulous and changing colors of the sky where the sun sinks to his nightly sleep. And yet, when Thoreau can see the cosmos mirrored in the placid bosom of Walden Pond, and from the sight and sound of a train on the Fitchburg road can image to himself the passing of the world's commerce, why cannot any man see the world of work and of nature, of man and of God, from the bits of brick, the stunted shrubbery, and the patch of sky that chance to bound his horizon? All that one really needs for a study is a quiet, receptive mind, a place to sit or stand in, and a few good books.

> Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage.

That *rara avis*, the man of genius, like enough can even do without books in his study. His mind is, in truth, a vast book-rack. Whole volumes are regularly arranged there, and he can read them without using either hands or eyes. This it is, we suppose, that accounts for the fact that Thoreau's little hut with its three-legged table, on which, he tells us, one might occasionally find the *Iliad*, was perhaps as good a study as he ever had. His study was largely in himself. But most of us are imitative, rather than original. We need the stimulus and suggestiveness of other minds. The fire smolders in our

brain, but we need some one to blow it, to gather up the flickering embers and fan them to a flame. The one who does that for us is forever a friend, be he man or woman, poet, historian, or naturalist. As one grows older he settles into secure friendships. This is so in affectional life, and equally so in intellectual life. Instinctively the man who knows and loves his books turns to certain authors according to his moods. Some men have said some things so authoritatively and so definitively that he knows no one else can ever again say them quite so well for him. There are books on the present writer's study shelves that he can find in the darkest night and without the aid of candle. He can tell them by feel of finger, so often have they been thumbed.

There is a little two-volume edition of Amiel's *Journal*, translated by Mrs. Humphry Ward, that is never far from our hand. Keen-sighted, sure-footed, mystical interpreter of life is Henri Frédéric Amiel, the poet-philosopher, professor, and critic of Geneva—one who, whatever be his faults, saw into the heart of things, always went beneath the surface, and in this *Journal* reveals to us not only the reality of his own life, but of universal life as well. A good way to begin any day is with a few pages of Amiel. It will surely conduce both to sanity of life and serenity of thought. There is a clearness, a depth, a dispassionateness about him that one does not easily find elsewhere. He weighs and estimates men and things so calmly; he sees his own defects as surely as the defect of his fellow. His struggle is for the absolute perfection, the ultimate good, and the very exactingness of his ideal palsies his effort, and no one knows this more certainly than does Amiel himself. The preacher will find in Amiel no false guide along the altitudes of faith or the zigzags and precipices of speculative philosophy. The deeper need of man is an open book to this sage of the spiritual realm. Take a few of his suggestive sentences: "If I reject many portions of our theology, it is that I may the better reach the Christ himself." "The cardinal question is that of sin"—this in contravention of those humanists who maintained that the cardinal question was environment and education. We do well to ponder sentiments like these: "The germs of all things are in every heart, and

the greatest criminals as well as the greatest heroes are but different modes of ourselves;" "The ideal is poison unless it be fused with the real, and the real becomes corrupt without the perfume of the ideal." If one is seeking seed-thought, he will find more and better in Amiel than in any of the volumes of so-called sermon stuff.

Matthew Arnold, in his essays, poems, and letters, is always within reach. One cannot always read him with patience. One who has lived in this hemisphere, and who has breathed the atmosphere of freedom from established custom and tradition, will be sure to put many a question mark on the broad margin of his Macmillan Edition. A Methodist, or, as Mr. Arnold would call him, a nonconformist, will certainly feel that as respects communions other than his own Mr. Arnold is lacking in breadth of view and in clearness of conception. But then, American Methodism should remember that he only saw our form of faith in its insularity and under the depressing influence of a gorgeous and richly endowed State Establishment. The Christian, too, will read our friend, especially when he comes to his poems, with many a doubt and fear. There are times when the poet seems to grope blindly; other times when he seems sailing the ocean of life with neither compass nor chart, rudder nor sail, drifting helplessly at the mercy of wind and tide—as when in "Dover Beach" he sings:

> Ah, love, let us be true
> To one another! for the world, which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams
> So various, so beautiful, so new,
> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
> And we are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night.

There are, again, days when his muse is strong, hopeful, and cheery, hours when he strikes the lyre with firm fingers, and when his heart seems warm with faith and love. This truer and sturdier note will, we think, be found in such poems as "A Summer Night," "The Buried Life," and "Quiet Work." And surely nothing could be more orthodox than the lines written in Emerson's Essays:

> Yet the will is free;
> Strong is the soul, and wise and beautiful;
> The seeds of Godlike power are in us still;
> Gods are we, bards, saints, heroes, if we will!

If one is in a disturbed and ruffled state of mind, if he feels life crowding upon him and trampling on his very heels, then let him take Arnold from the shelf, and, we think, before long something of the serenity of this interpreter of men and things will quietly slip into his own soul. Busy man though he was, visiting and inspecting schools, doing drudgery and well-nigh hack work because he needs must live—nevertheless he preserves the equipoise of his nature, he sees into the depths clearly, and he distinguishes always between the ephemeral and the abiding, even in his own work. His correspondence is well worth reading. In his letters to his mother and sisters especially one gets at the purpose of his mind and the motive of his life. The improvement of life, the real education of the people, the true sphere and function of religion as he saw it—these are his themes. And it surely should be encouragement to many another worker in kindred realms that notwithstanding many difficulties, pecuniary and physical, Mr. Arnold held to his purpose and succeeded. If a man's influence is to be measured by the way he impressed himself upon his age, Matthew Arnold's influence is not small. It must have required more than ordinary intellectual virility to invent phrases that would persist in living, even though they were many times buried by opponents. "Sweetness and Light," "The Power that Makes for Righteousness," "Barbarians," "Philistines"—these are part of the literary stuff of the present and future. There are many most suggestive sentences scattered through all his writings. When he says, "We all call ourselves, in the sublime and aspiring language of religion, children of God—children of God—it is an immense pretension," one instinctively puts by the book and thinks. And this is one of the chief benefits of Arnold—he forces one to think. His very paradoxes, his narrowness and his breadth alike, compel the exercise of the intellectual and spiritual faculties. How characteristic is this bit of criticism when once one understands the man, his training, his tastes, his prejudices:

I have been reading Chaucer a great deal, the early French poets a great deal, and Burns a great deal. Burns is a beast, with splendid gleams, and the medium in which he lived—Scotch peasants, Scotch Presbyterianism, and Scotch drink—is repulsive. Chaucer, on the other hand, pleases me more and more, and his medium is infinitely superior.

Of course it is—to Mr. Matthew Arnold. He sums up Heine in these words: "And what have we got from Heine? A half result, for want of moral balance and of nobleness of soul and character." There's a whole sermon in such a sentence as that.

There come days when one wants to leave behind him the dusty town and revel in the sights and sounds of nature. The wildness in the blood longs for just the companionship of the woods, fields, and streams, and only that. Happy indeed is he who is so situated that when this mood takes him he can stop all lesser and ignoble things and hasten to the freshness and the tonic influence of the great mother. But that can be done by only a few. When such a mood comes over us we have a quick and inexpensive way of satisfying it. On our shelves not far apart stand the works of three who are very dear to us—Van Dyke, Mabie, and Thoreau. Many an hour have we beguiled away in their company, and not unprofitably either. Dr. Van Dyke's subtitle for his *Little Rivers* is *A Book of Essays in Profitable Idleness*, and he who follows the genial doctor on his trouting trips will surely know that the title is not a misnomer. Every page breathes of the woods, the rivers, and the simple joys that go therewith. One finds not only recreation in these pages, but food for the soul as well, not lugged in perforce, but springing naturally out of the narrative because living naturally in the writer's heart and thought.

> Only a trout or two, to dart
> From foaming pools, and try my art;
> No more I'm wishing—old-fashioned fishing,
> And just a day on Nature's heart.

Thoreau's *Walden* might wisely be entitled *How to Be Busy though Idle.* To the practical men of his day a man like Thoreau could have been little better than an idler. Yet a few minutes with him by Walden Pond will convince the reader that he was the busiest of men, busy especially with his brain. Mayhap he is hoeing his beans, but he is also doing much more

than that. He is noting the ways of woodchuck and squirrel, catching the notes of the brown thrasher, listening to the music of the insect world and the rhythmical song of the morning wind as it moves melodiously among the tree tops, and out of all weaving a web of thought that gives us the very color and substance of life. An hour with him in the doorway of his little hut, looking out over the surface of the pond, noting the wild life of flower or bird, cultivating at the same time the eye, the ear, the head, the heart, is surely well spent and will help to make life less of a spectacle and more of a reality.

Perhaps there is no better guide to woodland walks and nature's nooks than Hamilton Mabie. His *Under the Trees and Elsewhere* is one of the most suggestive and horizon-lifting little books one can take in his hand. Even *My Study Fire* and *Essays on Nature and Culture* have about them the scent of the fields and the flavor of "incense-breathing May." His thoughts are so much in the open, his is such a thoroughly healthy, out-of-door nature, that whether he writes within four walls or under the apple boughs, whether he discourses on the sights and sounds of earth or deals with the mysteries of culture and soul growth, one feels that he is in touch with an author whose soul is open to all the winds of God. And what can be better or more wholesome than to go with him and Rosalind into the Forest of Arden, where is no hurry, no waste, no interruption; to wander among the pines, walk by purling brooks, leave behind the fever and fret and tumult of life, and feel the calm and quiet of nature steal into the heart like healing balm?

> And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

To go in such company along the roadside, across the open fields, by the shore of the wide sounding sea, to feel oneself a link between earth and sky, is indeed to know, as Mr. Mabie himself says, that "no dead mechanism moves the stars, or lifts the tides, or calls the flowers from their sleep; truly this is the garment of the Deity, and here is the awful splendor of the perpetual Presence." Some day we hope to write to Van Dyke and Mabie and tell them how much we are their debtor.

It is in theology, as in some other things, *de gustibus non est disputandum.* For our own part we are most fond of the mystical and inspirational theologians. The former speaks to our heart, finds us in the deep and unfathomable recesses where the lead and line of no systematic theologian has ever gone, is almost unconsciously absorbed, and becomes part of our moral and spiritual fiber. The latter speaks to our emotional and purposeful attributes, sets us ablaze with enthusiasm, fires us with a divine ardor, fans us into a holy zeal, and inspires us to do and dare mightily for truth and righteousness. They who are doing this work for us to-day are, in the mystical realm, Watson, and in the inspirational realm, Van Dyke and George A. Gordon. Without doubt we will be told—indeed, we have already been warned—that Dr. Watson is not orthodox. But, for that matter, what mystic is, as to the theories and systems of the schools? He is a seer of the deep spiritual principles. All facts, fancies, interpretations, pass into the alembic of his personality, and come forth a glowing mass. The one and only necessity for a mystic is that he be orthodox in spirit. And who will deny this quality to Ian Maclaren? Does careful study of him make one love the gospels more or less? After reading him does one's nature "start sideway with defiant hiss" at goodness and at God, or is it drawn upward and bound as with chains of gold about the feet of the Eternal? Does one after a day's communion with this author come back to himself, his home, and his work with a brighter hope manward and a stronger faith Godward, or not? When one has read that little spiritual classic, *The Upper Room*—imaginative though it be—what element in life is he most in touch with, the sacrilegious or the sacramental? It is by the answers to questions such as these that the orthodoxy of such an author must be tried, and when so tried who doubts the verdict? If, in the gray and chill of some somber winter morning one feels the weight of the world's woe and sin resting sorely on him, if the clouds hang thick and low, and the sun refuses to pierce the gloom, then let him take from the study shelf *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt* and *The Christ of To-day.* Perhaps he will begin despondingly enough, but ere long there will be a bright streak along the horizon's farthest edge; away

off in the distance there will be heard the faint note of some wakeful bird, first harbinger of coming brightness; soon the low-lying clouds will scud across the sky, patches of blue will appear and vanish in a moment, the sun will gleam through intermittently; something within will make him think of early daffodils, nodding violets, and fragrant apple blossoms, and, lo, before he is half through these inspirational volumes the clouds are gone and the broad sun has filled the earth with the cheer and hope and strength of his shining face.

The poets' corner in the study is an ample one. Many are the friendly faces that shine from out that sunny spot. Even among friends there are differences—some for special days, hours, and moods, others for all days and every mood. Two of these friends never fail us—Whittier and Browning. We take the one for his breadth, the other for his depth. Open Whittier anywhere. He is as a limpid stream running smoothly over its sandy bed. One sees so readily and reads so easily that he sometimes forgets that this smooth and rhythmical writer touches profound deeps. Broad, ample, and charitable as he is, one must not think him shallow. He rather reminds one of that Floridian spring where one's eye may follow a coin as it slowly sinks to the floor and find it difficult to realize that that plainly discernible floor is eighty feet beneath the little boat over whose side he leans. "Our Master," "The Eternal Goodness," "The Grave by the Lake," "Snow Bound," and many more are household treasures. Who does not feel his heart enlarged, his sympathies broadened, his horizon widened, and his life enriched as he reads these melodious numbers? And how much more vitally these lines speak to us because of the life out of which they come. We know that life—simple and homely as the New England customs among which it was nurtured, pure and gentle as the mountain rivulets it loved so well, rugged and strong as the granite of the hills it moved among—all this simplicity, purity, and strength are in the heart, and out of the fullness of the heart the song breaks forth. Perhaps that last stanza of "A Dream of Summer" is as characteristic of the thought and temper of this dearly loved companion and friend as any that could for the sake of illustration be quoted:

The night is mother of the day,
The Winter of the Spring,
And ever upon old decay
The greenest mosses cling.
Behind the cloud the starlight lurks,
Through showers the sunbeams fall;
For God, who loveth all his works,
Has left his hope with all!

And of Browning—the sturdy-souled, stout-hearted, full-voiced singer of our day—what shall be said of him? Only this, that once we know him we are grappled to him with hooks of steel. He is at once our inspiration, our strength, our comfort. When thought lags we read him, when strength fails we read him, when clouds hang thick and low we read him. He is the embodiment of the best, strongest, and truest thought of the Victorian era. His use and interpretation of nature make one say, and with a new and deeper meaning than ever before, "I believe in the living God." When he sings:

The acknowledgment of God in Christ
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
All questions in the earth and out of it,

one is strengthened in his belief of the very, the prime, and the ultimate supremacy of Christ, notwithstanding the crass materialism with which one may be surrounded. His faith in man fills us with both physical and moral courage. We believe in ourselves more than ever before. We no longer call ourselves miserable worms of the dust:

No, when the fight begins within himself,
A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head,
Satan looks up between his feet—both tug,
He's left, himself, i' the middle; the soul awakes
And grows. Prolong that battle through this life!
Never leave growing till the life to come.

His conception of God makes us know that the ripest and richest thinking of our era is harmonious with the thinking of John and Paul, and that no discovery of the centuries has antiquated the revealings of Jesus.

God! Thou art Love! I build my faith on that!

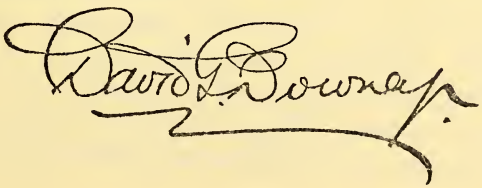
And there, we think, all may build and rest, confident that no gates of hell can ever prevail against so bedrock a foundation. His challenge to death ranks with Paul's swan song. Who

that reads it is not thereby heartened for the conflict? Who does not feel that what man has done man can do? If only back of him be the serene, strong, and loving life that was back of Robert Browning, he, too, can say:

Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe;
. . . . . .
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last.
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers,
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
Of pain, darkness, and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage, the fiend voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be at rest!

These are some of the writer's friends. They are always at home when he calls. They are neither wearied nor wearisome. They never fail. Though stereotyped, they have a perennial freshness about them that reminds one of the fabled fountain of eternal youth. A morning or evening in their company makes the world fresh and virile, and the people and things of it full of a new and rich suggestiveness, and one comes away saying:

O wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world,
That has such people in 't!



Art. III.—THE HYPOTHETICAL OLD TESTAMENT.

This is an age of hypotheses—hypotheses in science, in history, in literature, in every department of thought and investigation. It is customary to form a theory of science or of history and then seek to realize that theory through marshaling the facts under it and bending them into conformity to it. While we boast of the Baconian method—the inductive process of attaining knowledge—yet it is true that theories and *a priori* assumptions have a dominant influence over all of our investigations, and give color and character to their results. This is especially true with reference to investigations made by certain critics in the history of ancient peoples and their religions. The standpoint is the development hypothesis, applied to the history of these nations and of the human race in general. According to this hypothesis man has gradually worked himself up from a state of primitive barbarism—a state of social, moral, and religious infancy—to the state in which the most civilized nations are at present to be found. The Bible story of primitive innocency and subsequent degradation through sin, from which the race is to be lifted through a divine interposition that has been working out its results through the ages and has found its culmination in the Son of God manifest in the flesh, is to be explained away, if not more summarily dealt with, in the interest of this development hypothesis.

This, we feel sure, is the explanation of the documentary hypothesis, put forth to explain the origin of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is based upon preconceptions and *a priori* assumptions. Its J, E, JE, P, D, and Redactor, along with sundry supposed interpolations, is a sheer invention of this age. These are wholly imaginary persons. They and their production have no counterpart in literature in all human history of which anyone knows. To say that this scheme is wholly hypothetical is to make an assertion that cannot be gainsaid. It is simply sufficient to call attention to the fact that the parties who advocate this fanciful division of the Old Testament into the productions of documentary authorship do not agree as to

the number of them, their relative position in the work of compilation, and as to just what belongs to each. Some put E before J, and some put J before E, and the other hypothetical characters are also diversely distributed according to the fancy of the particular theorizer. And also to these various dates are assigned, from the days of Josiah down to within a few centuries of our Lord. Nothing can be more profoundly confusing than the assured discoveries of these eminent critics. But it may be said that there are some fundamental facts upon which they agree. They agree upon the hypothesis of the documentary character of the Pentateuch. They agree in calling certain books of the Old Testament the "Hexateuch," thus by a term to constructively set aside the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. They agree in making the Levitical economy the end of Israel's development and not its beginning. Now, let it not be forgotten that this documentary hypothesis is a very different thing from the admission that Moses may have used more ancient productions in the compilation of the history contained in Genesis.

The assurance with which these speculations are put forth reminds one of the same traits exemplified by the advocates of its congener, scientific evolution. A recent writer, for example, says, "The documentary hypothesis seems established; at any rate, it has been adopted by the great majority of the biblical scholars of the day as the most satisfactory solution of the question concerning the structure of the Pentateuch yet suggested." Who are "the biblical scholars of the day?" We infer, from the statement, the men who adopt the hypothesis. Its adoption in certain quarters is the test of biblical scholarship. Shall we mention in opposition to it Professor Green, Edersheim, Stanley Leathes, Keil, Principal Cave, Dean Chadwick, Dr. John Forbes, Canon Rawlinson, Professor Sayce, Dr. Harman, and a host of others? These are certainly men of scholarship, and of Semitic scholarship likewise. May it not be possible that some men are classified as advocates of the documentary hypothesis who simply admit that Moses made use of documents to write the history contained in Genesis? This is a quite different thing from the "documentary hypothesis" of the divisive critics. Familiarity with Semitic tongues

does not necessarily imply acute critical discernment and logical discrimination. Specialists may be authority as to facts within their specialty, and be yet very far from competent to determine the logical bearing of these facts in relation to other spheres of knowledge.

On what is this documentary hypothesis founded? A clear and unmistakable evidence of a series of documents from which the Pentateuch was compiled? Those who have read after these speculations have observed that uniformly they are referred to the same supposed indications of complex authorship in the account given of the creation in Gen. i, and ii, 1–4, in comparison with Gen. ii, 4–25; the supposed varying accounts of the covenant made with Noah in Gen. viii, 20–22, and ix, 8–17; the supposed varying accounts of the covenant made with Abraham in Gen. xv and xvii; supposed variations in Gen. xxi, 22–32, and xxvi, 12–33; the origin of the name "Bethel" supposed to be given in two places, Gen. xxviii, 16–22, and Gen. xxxv, 9–15; the origin of the name "Israel" supposed to be given in two places, Gen. xxxii, 22–32, and xxxv, 9–13; two lists of the dukes of Edom, Gen. xxxvi, 15–19, and 40–41; then in Exod. iii, 13–15, and vi, 2–7, the supposed two accounts of the name "Jehovah;" duplicate directions concerning the passover in chapters xii and xiii of Exodus; and also supposed different versions of the founding of the tabernacle to be found in Exod. xxvi, 1, and xxxvi.

Who that has read after the advocates of the documentary hypothesis is not familiar with these imaginary proofs of diversity of authorship? At this distance from the production of these books is there no other explanation of these peculiarities? Is this hypothesis the only, or even the most rational, explanation of them? Has this hypothesis a counterpart in fact elsewhere, that may serve to give it a possible reality? What does it suppose? It supposes that a compiler or compilers, finding these old documents written by different authors at different times, combined them together with material woven in by themselves, eliminating here a word, a phrase, a sentence, or sentences, and adding there others, until they have evolved productions that they could assign to one author, and that, too, the great founder of Israel's nationality. In other words, this

exceedingly artificial production is a pious fraud produced centuries after Moses, and palmed off in his name by nameless redactors. And this composite theory does not stop here; it reconstructs the entire Bible history to conform to its plan of historical development. All the historical books of the Old Testament are moved down to later periods, and the history is constructed to conform to the fraud perpetrated in the name of Moses. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, the Psalms, and many of the prophets are attributed to centuries later than the traditional historical development of Israel and the rational evolution of the plan of divine grace assign them. David wrote no psalms, or but very few, and none of those that recognize the existence of a priestly codex. In fact, it is hard to conceive of anything more artificial and that so violates all the canons of historical honesty as the Old Testament history constructed after the fashion of the critics.

Yet the authors of a scheme so artful as this made such prodigious blunders as to get many names and events ages out of their proper places in history. Is the supposition at all probable that an acute redactor, seeking to palm off his work as the production of Moses, would persistently write of Moses in the third person, and write an account of his death, and make these a part of the pretended books of Moses? The hypothesis of art and deception precluded this. Art would be more artful, deception would be more cunning. The same may be said to be true with reference to the name "Dan" as applied to Laish, and to the conquest of Jair. The supposed artful redactors would not have made a blunder so apparent as this would be, if blunder it was. We will, however, look a little more closely at these supposed duplicate accounts and their alleged marks of varying authorship.

First, as to the accounts of creation. That of Gen. i and ii, 1–4, is a general account, and no doubt was very ancient. Moses used it, in all probability, just as it came to him, with but very few emendations, if any. The account contained in the rest of the second chapter is a detailed account of the creation of man and woman. There is no disagreement between them. The introduction of "Jehovah Elohim" is the only fact upon which diversity of authorship can be founded. Is

this sufficient to take its authorship out of the hand of Moses? But we are told that in Exod. vi, 3, we have the origin of the name "Jehovah" and its first use, and therefore no writer earlier than this date could have used it, nor, as one of these critics has said, "could a subsequent writer put it into the mouth of earlier characters." A more inconsequential conclusion is hard to conceive. It is founded upon the assumption that this is the production of one of these hypothetical documentary authors, and not that of Moses; and thus it begs the whole question in dispute. What reasonable objection can be alleged against the use by Moses of the appellation "Jehovah Elohim?" If "Jehovah" is the appellation by which the God of Israel was from henceforth to be known nothing could be more judicious and reasonable than its introduction here to teach that the God of creation is none other than he who is known by the name "Jehovah." But how artful the hypothesis that patches in here another and divergent account of creation excerpted from a widely different author.

The two accounts of the covenant with Noah, given in Gen. viii, 20–22, and ix, 8–17, are purely imaginary, and predicated on the fact that the first uses the name "Jehovah" and the other the name "Elohim." Now as to the facts, apparent even to English scholarship—and there is nothing in Hebrew scholarship that gives these critics an exclusive right of judgment—the first account says not one word about a covenant, but simply speaks of what "the Lord said in his heart;" and from this on to the eighteenth verse of the ninth chapter it is a continuous consecutive narrative, as much so as anything produced by these critics themselves. The same preconception is manifest in dealing with the supposed two accounts of the covenant with Abraham. Chapter xv uses "Jehovah" and "Jehovah Elohim;" chapter xvii uses "Jehovah" once and "Elohim" throughout. We believe that these chapters are by the critics usually parceled out among four different authors and a redactor. The first account is of a general covenant, in which the Lord promises to give to Abram's seed the land of Canaan; the second is a fuller and more explicit setting forth of all that is implied in the first covenant, and gives an account of the token, sign, and seal of the covenant.

Nothing but the necessities of an hypothesis would lead anyone to think that they were not the descriptions of two different events. Let the English reader carefully read them; he will see all the marks that higher criticism, so called, can see in them.

The imagined duplicate versions in Gen. xxi, 22–32, and xxvi, 12–33, are regarded as such upon the *a priori* assumption that the same writer would not use "Jehovah," "Jehovah Elohim," and "Elohim" interchangeably. That there might be two controversies eighty-eight years apart about wells, one between Abraham and the king of the Philistines, and another between Isaac and the king of the Philistines, has no inherent improbability in it. In fact, is very probable under the circumstances. To a nomadic people wells were a matter of immense importance. That the names are the same need occasion no difficulty, for "Abimelech"—"father king"—was, like "Pharaoh," not a name, but a title, and Phichol might be the son of his father, or any other person bearing the same name as a former "chief captain." This requires no such a violent supposition as that an artful compiler would permit two stories of the same event to enter into his compilation, and these stories discrepant with each other. The presumption of their truth best harmonizes with the facts.

The assumption that the name "Bethel" is given in two variant accounts, Gen. xxviii, 16–22, and xxxv, 9–15, is in no wise sustained by any legitimate and necessary deduction from the accounts in question. Jacob called the place where God manifested himself to him first Bethel—"house of God." This was in all probability in the vicinity of Luz. After the Israelites occupied Canaan Bethel took the place of the Canaanite name. In chapter xxxv, Jacob is commanded by the Lord to go to Bethel, the place where the Lord appeared unto him on a former occasion, and dwell in that vicinity. The Lord again appeared unto him in that vicinity, and the particular place he again called Bethel? What more natural than this? Is there anything in these two accounts that implies a contradiction? Why suppose two variant accounts of the same transaction? In the seventh verse of this latter chapter we have the specific place of the altar that the patri-

arch erected called by the name "El-Bethel," showing conclusively that it was not the city that was called Bethel, but the place of divine manifestation; and evidently when at another place in this vicinity God appears to him, and this he also calls Bethel—"house of God."

The same principles of interpretation give a rational explanation of the two instances in which Jacob receives from the Lord the name "Israel." According to the supposed criteria of diverse authorship both of these accounts should belong to the Elohist, as they both with unvarying uniformity use the name "Elohim." Why should these criteria fail in this case? In Gen. xxxii we have the bestowment of the name "Israel," in a detailed account of the faith that won it. In chapter xxxv, 10, we have the fact simply adverted to, as the Lord enlarges upon his promise of blessings to Jacob's seed after him. Again, it is the exigencies of a preconceived hypothesis that find two accounts of the same event here. Likewise the two lists of the dukes of Edom, while their existence in the same chapter, Gen. xxxvi, may be difficult of explanation, do not necessarily demand two different authors for the two lists. But suppose the latter part of the chapter, from verse 31, was added to complete the list of Edom's kings down to the days of Saul, is this as violent an assumption as the composite authorship of the entire book, at a date subsequent to the exile?

That explanatory notes on the margin of a manuscript roll should afterward through careless transcription creep into the text, and become seemingly a part of it, we know to be a possibility from the facts of various readings in the manuscripts of the New Testament. This will also explain the allusion to kings in Israel, and the use of the names "Dan" and "Jair" and the like, without the assumption of a pious fraud. Let it not be forgotten that hypotheses for explaining the facts are as much our privilege as they are the privilege of the divisive critics.

We are told that in Exodus the same manifestation of varying accounts is to be found. We are usually referred to the supposed two accounts of the origin of the name "Jehovah" in Exod. iii, 13–15, and vi, 2–7. With all deference to these

critical expositors, we unhesitatingly say that these are not two accounts of the origin of the use of the term. In the first instance God appears to Moses and calls himself "Jehovah, the God of your fathers." In the second instance he gives Moses the specific appellation by which he was henceforth to be known in Israel, namely, "Jehovah." But it is neither said nor implied that this is the first time that Moses had heard that divine name, nor is there anything in the second account that corresponds to what is in the first. Much has also been said of what has been styled the diverse accounts of the passover, contained in Exod. xii and xiii. We confess to a candid inability to see anything of the kind, and believe that such a state of things never would have been seen but for the theory. Verses 1–13, in chapter xii, contain the directions given to Moses; verses 14–20 are a continuation of the same with reference to the future observance of this feast in Israel. Verses 21–27 are the instructions as given by Moses to the children of Israel. Then in chapter xiii, 3–10, are fuller directions given by Moses to the people concerning the future observance of the feast. No more consecutive and consistent account can be found anywhere. On the same common-sense principles the two accounts of the origin of the tabernacle can be explained in chapters xxvi and xxxvi. The one contains the divine directions to Moses; the other, Moses's directions to the people.

We have dwelt upon these supposed divergencies to this extent that we might not be thought to pass them by lightly, and because they form absolutely the major part of the data upon which this hypothesis of composite authorship is founded; and the residue of what is regarded as proof is founded upon *a priori* assumptions which require simply an emphatic contradiction.

But upon this theory of composite authorship is built up an hypothetical history for the descendants of Abraham that is radically different from that to be found in the Old Testament as it was understood for centuries before the Saviour, and as it was understood by the Saviour and his apostles. In fact, the order of Israel's development is reversed, and the Levitical economy is made the final outcome of Israel's history, rather

than the beginning of things. A recent writer, claiming to be orthodox, tells us:

> The Pentateuch is mainly composed of four documents; of these the oldest are the Jahvistic, written in Judah, and Elohistic, written in Ephraim, not long before or after 800 B. C. But which of them antedates the other is not yet decided. These two became one about 600 B. C., but may have been written in the reign of Manasseh, which was then or soon after that time incorporated in the same work. The priestly document, according to certain scholars, existed in some form before Deuteronomy was written, while others maintain that it was the product of the captivity; but most agree that it did not become a part of the Pentateuch until comparatively a short time before or after 444 B. C.

Now, this is gravely put forth as the outcome of the latest and best investigation, without a breath of suspicion that it is in conflict with the entire trend of the Old Testament history as manifestly it was designed to be taught by every book in the whole record from beginning to the end, as manifestly it has been understood in all ages of the past down to the last two decades. It is a scheme that makes a fraud of the whole history as it appears in the Bible. What is it? A remodeling of history from other and conflicting contemporary sources? No; tradition and archæology are against the whole theory. It is a supposititious history evolved by an internal criticism of the only documents that assume to contain the history, and this theoretical history is made from the standpoint of certain preconceptions that are at war with the Bible from beginning to close. A more gigantic fraud than the Old Testament under the manipulations of these destructive critics cannot well be conceived. If anything more artificial than the methods of this criticism has ever been produced we have never heard of it.

T. M. K. Stuart

Art. IV.—THE NEW OLD TESTAMENT.

The question of the origin of the Old Testament has now for a number of years been fairly before the Christian world. When the discussion began it was often necessary to define the rights and duties of investigators in this field, in order, if possible, to allay the almost universal prejudice against them and secure for their alleged discoveries a dispassionate and impartial hearing. The time had not then come to discuss the advantage or disadvantage of accepting their results. A change has now taken place, but not in the views under discussion. Our scholars have simply developed the theories with which they began, so that they now hold them more firmly and confidently than ever. The change to which reference is made has taken place in spite of their persistence in their former position. It is not so marked in America as it is in Great Britain. In the latter country, until recently, the advocates of these views were few in number and, as a class, the objects of general disapproval. The publication, in 1891, of Canon Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, which has since gone through several editions, marks a new stage in the history of opinion on the subject. The leading exegetes, not only at Oxford and Cambridge, but throughout the kingdom, have now openly accepted the results on which authorities generally agree, and begun to adjust themselves, and help the Church adjust itself to them. One of the most ardent and eloquent of these mediators between the old and the new is the Rev. R. F. Horton. The subtitle of his *Revelation and the Bible* is *An Attempt at Reconciliation*. He bases his work on that of Driver, and, assuming that the position of that author has been sustained, argues that the Bible, in the new light that has been thrown upon it, is still a revelation of God and from God. A more learned and judicial, but not more earnest, author in the same field is Professor Sanday, of Oxford. In his work on inspiration, the Bampton Lectures for 1893, he maintains that, although biblical scholarship has shown the traditional theory to be untenable, it has by so doing only prepared the way for a more rational and edifying doctrine of inspiration. Finally,

the Rev. R. L. Ottley, the head of Pusey House at Oxford, and one of the leaders of the High Church party, in his lectures on the Bampton foundation (1897), has taken a similar position. Other like works might be mentioned, but these, in view of the favor with which they have been received, sufficiently prove that in Great Britain a new era has been inaugurated.

In our own country the change has not been so rapid; yet there are signs of a friendlier feeling toward scientific students of the Bible, and there is reason for believing that the progress made is greater than would at first be suspected. This result is partly due to the influence of our English brethren; but the effect produced by their works has been enhanced by internal causes, which it is not necessary to enumerate. Thus, in America also, a great majority of those most competent to decide in the matter have adopted the new views, and many others, laymen as well as ministers, have followed their example. If such is the case, it is now proper for us to ask ourselves what we are to gain or lose by the prevalence of these new views. This may, at first sight, seem a long and difficult problem, but in fact the answer to it can be put into a comparatively brief balance-sheet under three divisions.

I. In the first place, I shall look at it from the literary point of view. The Old Testament, whatever else it may be, is first of all a book, or, more strictly, a collection of books. It has always been regarded by its Christian, as well as its Jewish, readers as on the whole the greatest literary product of the pre-Christian ages; and many who had no personal religious interest in it, and therefore cannot be said to have been biased in its favor, have admitted that parts of it are unsurpassed in the world's literature. The question now is, What, if any, is the effect of recent investigation upon the attractiveness of the Old Testament as a literary product?

There are certain requisites, all will agree, without which a book cannot be of great and lasting literary value. In the first place, it must be intelligible. Of course I do not mean that every book, to deserve the name, must be intelligible to everybody without regard to circumstances. A French author, for example, cannot be expected to make himself understood by one who has never studied his language; nor can the writer of a work

on calculus reasonably be required to make his subject clear to one who knows nothing about mathematics. It is enough that a book be within the comprehension of those who are prepared to understand works of its kind. If it is not, in so far as it is not its value is diminished. The second requisite that I had in mind is individuality. We esteem people who, as we say, have character, that is, who have distinctive traits, appearing and reappearing in whatever they say or do, by which we come to know them. Even when these characteristics are not entirely agreeable or estimable we give their possessors a degree of credit for possessing them. On the other hand, we disesteem those who lack character, that is, whose words and acts, if not entirely featureless, are like changing masks by which the identity of the wearer is hidden. It is the same with books, which might be described as people in covers. If they are to gain and retain our esteem they must have peculiarities by which we can distinguish them from one another. If they lack such individuality, though they may have value of other kinds, they will not be reckoned among our literary treasures.

Let us turn now to the Old Testament, regarding it, for the time being, as a literary product, without reference to other considerations. It is, as already noted, not a single book, but a collection containing works by many different writers. These works, it must be admitted, are not of uniform excellence. Some are recognized masterpieces. The rest fall more or less below the highest standard. The imperfections of the latter class are sometimes felt even by the average reader; but, being intent on the main thought, he is not seriously disturbed by them. To the careful student of the Bible they are more troublesome. Take as an illustration the story of the Flood, in Genesis. This is the substance of it: The earth had become corrupt; therefore God determined to destroy it. To this end he caused a deluge, in which every living thing excepting Noah, his family, and a few animals, perished. All this is perfectly clear and coherent; but when we proceed to examine the story in its details we soon find ourselves puzzled. This is the case if we compare the various statements concerning the number of animals preserved. According to vi, 19, Noah was directed to take two of each kind, seemingly

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without distinction, except that one was to be a male and the other a female. A little further on (vii, 2, *f.*) we find that we have misunderstood the writer. It was only unclean beasts of which two were to be taken. The clean beasts and birds were to be taken by sevens. But what does the phrase "by sevens" mean? "By twos," in verse 15, can only mean two of each kind; hence we have a right to conclude that "by sevens" means seven of each kind, three pairs and an extra animal for the sacrifice offered after deliverance (viii, 20). If, however, there were seven individuals of each clean species, how can the animals, clean and unclean, be described as going into the ark by twos, as they were in verse 8, *f.* Were there, after all, fourteen of each clean species? The story could hardly be more perplexing, especially if one take into account the additional fact that in ix, 3, Noah, who had hitherto eaten only herbs (i, 30), receives permission thenceforth to eat "every moving thing that liveth," as if the distinction between clean and unclean animals had never been made.

There are similar difficulties in the way of determining the chronology of the Flood. In vii, 4, Jehovah is represented as giving Noah notice that he is about to cause it to rain on the earth forty days and nights; and so, according to verse 12, he did, with the result that the ark floated and every living thing outside of it was destroyed. The natural inference is that at the end of this term the rain ceased. But such a conclusion seems to be forbidden by verse 24, where we are told that the waters continued to rise for "a hundred and fifty days," and certainly is by viii, 2, which says that the fountains of the deep were not sealed, nor the windows of heaven closed, until the end of that length of time. Then the water began to ebb, and the ark grounded on the mountains of Ararat. This was on the seventeenth of the seventh month. By the first of the tenth, that is, after seventy-three days, more or less, says verse 5, the tops of the mountains became visible. Verse 6 adds, "And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark, which he had made." Forty days from what date? Surely not from the beginning of the flood, if the rain continued a hundred and fifty, nor from the end of that period; for the fortieth day from it would fall

long before the first of the tenth month, when the tops of the mountains first became visible. But if the forty days be reckoned from the last date it follows that Noah waited a hundred and thirteen days after the ark grounded before he opened the window, and that the first dove sent from the ark, as it lay on Ararat, failed to find a place to alight, although the tops of the mountains had then been forty-seven days above water. It is not necessary to dwell longer on this story. It is plain that it can be understood, if at all, only after much study. One could go through the Pentateuch and show that there are many similar passages, enough at least to convince a candid mind that, however highly we may esteem portions of it, we must own that it is not always perfectly intelligible. The same may be said of some other parts of the Old Testament.

This, however, is not all. The careful reader of the Pentateuch would only increase his perplexity if, supposing it to be from a single pen, he undertook to determine its style. He would find it both concise and diffuse, natural and artificial, picturesque and literal, and that often in the same connection. He would therefore have to describe the supposed author as a writer without a recognizable literary character. If he extended his researches to some of the other books he would be obliged to use similar terms with reference to their authors.

This is the way in which the Old Testament impresses the conscientious reader, possessed of some literary culture but uninfluenced by modern theories. Let us now inquire how the acceptance of the results of investigation affects one's estimate of these same Scriptures. I am free to confess that at first sight they seem not to have helped matters. The Documentary Hypothesis, for instance, with its J, E, D, and P raised to the nth power and multiplied by the cube of R—what can anyone but an insane German theologian make of these unknown quantities? But let us see if this much-abused theory is so ridiculous as it is sometimes represented. Apply it without its extravagances to the story of the Flood. We are told that this narrative is a compilation from two documents, in one of which the Deity was always called *Elohim*, while in the other the name *Yahweh* was regularly employed, and that the two were woven together by an editor with such additions

and omissions as seemed to him necessary to make them tell a continuous story. Moreover, experts in such matters undertake to separate it into its components. Here is the result, so far as it bears on the present discussion: The first document, the Priestly (P), said that Noah on entering the ark was commanded by God to take with him two animals of every sort, and obeyed; that when all was ready the sluices of the deep and the windows of heaven were opened, and water was poured upon the earth for the space of a hundred and fifty days, or until the mountains were covered to the depth of fifteen cubits; that the outpour finally ceased, the water began to subside, and the ark grounded on the mountains of Ararat; that the water ebbed until, in the first of the tenth month, the tops of the mountains appeared; and that finally, on the seventeenth of the second, after a round year, the earth was dry, when Noah left the ark with permission thenceforth to eat flesh of all kinds as well as vegetable food. The second document, the Yahwistic (J, from the erroneous form Jahweh), told how Yahweh ordered Noah to take seven of every clean, and two of every unclean, species of animal with him into the ark, and did so; how Yahweh then, as he had notified Noah that he would, caused it to rain forty days and nights, thus destroying every living creature, except those in the ark; how, after forty days, the rain having ceased, Noah sent forth, first the raven, and then, at intervals of seven days, three doves, the last of which did not return to the ark; and finally, how Noah, perceiving that the earth was dry, at the end of sixty-one days went forth and offered one of each of the clean species of beasts and birds as a burnt offering to Yahweh.

This is the twofold account of the Flood into which the narrative in Genesis has been resolved. Examining it one will notice three things: that it consists of two complete accounts of the great catastrophe; that in reconstructing them nothing of any consequence has been omitted from the sacred text except the phrase "by twos" in vii, 9, which is ascribed to the editor; and that, in the process of reconstruction, the difficulties which previously confronted the reader have entirely disappeared. The last, of course, is the point to be emphasized; but there is no need of dwelling on

it, since it is perfectly clear that, if by the process described we have really succeeded in making the story more intelligible, we have thus added to its literary value.

In this, as in the former case, the story of the Flood has been used simply as an illustration. What scholars have done for it they have done for other troublesome passages in the Pentateuch. They have extended their researches to the remaining books of the Old Testament, and, in many cases, by correcting our errors with reference to their origin and composition, have made it possible for us to understand them better than any other generation since they were written. Nor is this the extent of their services. By disentangling and separating the works of different authors they have enabled us to become acquainted with the authors themselves in their literary characters. We know even those whose names have perished so well that we do not need to know what they happened to be called. Of course the works through which we become acquainted with them thus acquire a second increment of literary importance. In view of this showing it does not seem too much to say that investigation and its results have been an advantage to the Old Testament, at least from the literary standpoint.

II. I have dwelt at considerable length on the literary side of the Old Testament, but have not forgotten that it has another; that, besides the form, there is a content. This consists in part of the teachings concerning God and his relations to mankind which the poets and historians, as well as the prophets in the ordinary sense, each in his own way strove to impress upon their people. These teachings are of far greater consequence than the language in which they have been preserved. It is natural, therefore, that we should wish to look at the results of investigation from the doctrinal, or theological, point of view. It is not necessary to make an exhaustive exhibit of the content of the Old Testament in this connection. It will be sufficient by one or two examples to illustrate the point in question. The doctrine concerning suffering will serve as such an illustration. At the mention of this subject one is reminded of the story of the Fall in the third chapter of Genesis. The author of that story evidently

intended to teach that all suffering is the result of sin; so that, if there had never been any sin, there would never have been suffering of any sort. Later in the same book we are taught, not only that the sins of peoples and individuals are punished by temporal inflictions (xii, 17), but that wherever there is suffering there must have been a previous offense against God (xlii, 21, *f.*)—in short, that man's condition in life corresponds exactly to his relation to his Maker. This doctrine is stated with all possible clearness and emphasis in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, where the Hebrews are promised everything desirable on condition of their faithfulness, but threatened with every known calamity in case they desert Jehovah. This is the teaching of much, but not all, of the Old Testament. That of the Book of Job, for instance, is very different. The patriarch is represented as overtaken by great misfortunes, the greatest that can befall man. His friends attempt to console him, but they prove "miserable comforters," because they can explain his condition only as the result of transgression. He declares his innocence, going so far as to challenge God to test his integrity. The Almighty finally appears and rebukes him for his rashness, but sustains him in his contention against his friends; and, because he has spoken "the thing that is right," rewards him with a new family as numerous as the first and twice his original possessions.

Here we have a difference in doctrine that demands explanation. Let us turn to the traditional view of the origin of the two works, and see if it throws any light on the subject. It is found in its original form in the Talmud, which, as everyone knows, says that the Pentateuch was written by Moses. This famous Jewish authority, however, teaches, not only that "Moses wrote his book," including the section on Balaam, but also that he was the author of the Book of Job. The Jews, therefore, have generally held that this latter is the work of Moses, and many Christians in the past have adopted their opinion. There are probably still some who entertain it; in fact, I have recently seen or heard the book attributed to Moses. Suppose that we accept it; what follows? This, that one must either deny the evident divergence in doctrine

between the two works or admit a degree of inconsistency in the teachings of the lawgiver which, especially in the eyes of a traditionalist, would rob him of his authority. It is clear that, whatever may be the effect of any other, the traditional view of the origin of the Pentateuch and the Book of Job throws no light upon their doctrinal content.

This point might be illustrated by several more examples. I will cite only one other, that of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The Book of Proverbs teaches without qualification that the righteous are rewarded, and the wicked punished, in this life. It says, "Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth: how much more the wicked and the sinner" (xi, 31). The four proverbs in x, 27–30, are simply so many repetitions of this doctrine:

> The fear of Jehovah addeth days;
> But the years of the wicked shall be shortened.
> The hope of the righteous shall be gladness;
> But the expectation of the wicked shall perish.
> The way of Jehovah is a stronghold to the upright;
> But it is destruction to the workers of iniquity.
> The righteous shall never be removed;
> But the wicked shall not dwell in the land.

Many similar passages might be cited, and there is nowhere in the book anything to offset them. In the Book of Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, we find the most serious doubt on the subject in question. The author says, "There be righteous men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous" (viii, 14); and a little later he declares, "All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked; to the good and clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: as is the good, so is the sinner; and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath" (ix, 2). He saves himself—on the supposition that the book is a unit—from utter infidelity only by closing his eyes to his own experience and protesting that, in the end, it must be well with them that fear God and ill with them that defy him (xii, 13, *f.*). Here again is a striking contrast—on the one hand unruffled assurance, on the other confessed perplexity; yet in this case, as in the other, tradition

attributes both books to the same author, thus placing the authority of Solomon, as well as that of Moses, in jeopardy.

At this point some one may object that, whatever the Jews may have thought about the authorship of the books quoted, most of us long ago ceased to regard Moses as the author of Job, or Ecclesiastes as the work of Solomon. True; and what is the significance of this fact? What is implied when Professor Harman, for instance, rejecting tradition, puts Job in the time of Solomon, and makes Ecclesiastes the latest book in the Old Testament? In the first place, in denying that either Moses or Solomon wrote both the books attributed to him he says in effect that, other things being equal, divergence of doctrine indicates diversity of authorship, even in the Bible; secondly, in placing Job after the Pentateuch and Ecclesiastes after Proverbs, he as much as confesses that, other things being equal, of two forms of doctrine, divine or human, the more developed will be the later; and thirdly, in fixing the date of Job in the time of Solomon, and that of Ecclesiastes after the captivity, he virtually admits the principle that thought, inspired or uninspired, naturally reflects the situation of the thinker; and undoubtedly, although some of us might express ourselves differently, we all agree with him. But these principles are precisely those which the other critics—for Professor Harman, so far as he applies them, is himself a critic—recognize in their researches. The only difference is that they apply them, not only to books, but parts of books, and sometimes reach conclusions that he cannot indorse. In the case of the Book of Ecclesiastes there is practical agreement; but while, as has been said, Professor Harman assigns the Book of Job to the time of Solomon, most Old Testament scholars assert that it cannot be older than the time of Jeremiah, and was probably written during the captivity. The reason they give for this opinion is precisely the one that he gives for his conclusion concerning Ecclesiastes. He says, "The age of the author of Ecclesiastes was one of despondency, not the flourishing period in which Solomon reigned." They reply, that the latter period can no more have produced the one book than the other; but that, when Judah, as well as Israel, had been overthrown, the captive

Hebrews could hardly help doubting whether there was, after all, as their prophets had taught, a perfect equation between sin and suffering, or avoid giving expression to their doubt in some such work as that of which Job is the hero.

What now, from the doctrinal standpoint, is the effect of the new views on the Old Testament? It may be illustrated in this way: One who enjoys pictures is grateful for the privilege of visiting a collection, whatever its condition; even when its treasures are all misplaced, and some of them absolutely lost in the disorder. But he prizes such a privilege much more highly when he finds them arranged according to schools and periods; for then he can trace the history of the art of painting from its rude beginnings through the centuries, and appreciate its every product. Now, what the skilled curator of a museum of painting does for the treasures in his keeping scholars have, with more or less success, tried to do for the books of the Old Testament. They have neither added anything to, nor subtracted anything from, them; they have simply rearranged them in the order of their supposed origin, so that we can at length understand and appreciate their contents, see how one phase of doctrine grew out of another, and thus how God during the old dispensation was preparing his people, and through them the world, to expect and accept the truth as it is in Jesus. I claim, then, that the new views are an advantage to the Old Testament, and to students of it, from the doctrinal standpoint.

III. On one occasion, after a paper on the present subject read before a company of preachers, there arose a discussion on the subject of the modern doctrine, in the course of which a brother asked us, in a tone indicating that he expected to surprise and overthrow us, "Will it save souls?" The question is significant. It means that the Old Testament is not merely a collection of Hebrew literature whose arrangement we are interested in improving, or a repository of doctrines whose relations to one another we are desirous of discovering, but that its supreme value lies in the fact that it is a means of grace on whose efficacy our religious life is largely dependent. To my thinking the most important of the three questions we are trying to answer has always been, What is,

or is to be, the effect of investigation upon the Old Testament, from the religious point of view? This is my answer to it: The Old Testament has been described as a means of grace. There will probably be no objection to such a description of it. We do not believe that grace comes to us from the Bible, or any part of it, as a source, any more than that we find it in our pews when we go to church. The source of all spiritual, or, for that matter, physical or intellectual, life is God. "In him we live, and move, and have our being" in every sense. The Old Testament is one of the conduits, so to speak, through which he is pleased to communicate to us that which we call, in the broadest sense, salvation. But it is a conduit in sections. Now, everyone knows that when a conduit is composed of sections it makes a difference how they are arranged. Perhaps the Old Testament becomes more or less truly a means of grace according to one's idea of the relation of the parts of which it is composed. It can, in fact, easily be shown that traditional notions hinder the free and full flow of divine grace through the Hebrew Scriptures. The Pentateuch might be used to illustrate this point also; but there are other books that will answer the same purpose. Take first that called Isaiah. Tradition says it is the work of the prophet whose name it bears, and many still hold this opinion. Granting it for the time being, let us see what is the total impression concerning God made by the book. We notice that the first thirty-nine chapters are largely composed of prophecies relating to the times in which Isaiah lived, and, remembering other similar instances, we are impressed with the thought that the God of the Hebrews is a God who is near at hand; one who, when those whom he loves are in trouble, manifests himself, as Moses said that he would, by furnishing them with teachers to guide and comfort them. This impression is at first deepened as we find the restoration of the Jews foretold at least a hundred and fifty years before it happened. Surely, we say to ourselves, here is a tenderness worthy of a divine Father; and we run through the remainder of the Old Testament confident that, when the time for the fulfillment of his promise drew nigh, he commissioned some one to calm the fears of his crushed and hopeless people and prepare them for

deliverance. But no; although he finally delivered them, while he was doing it he seems to have inspired no one to interpret the events which he was directing. When this fact dawns on us we are tempted to ask, Is he, after all, more jealous for his omniscience than for his faithfulness?

There is another book that must not be overlooked in the inquiry. It says that a young Jew, who was carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar after his first conquest of Judah, finally rose to great eminence, first at the Babylonian and then at the Persian court, but remained so loyal to his religion that God revealed to him the things which were to come to pass for centuries. He foresaw not only the overthrow of Babylon—in its relation to the remote future of his people—but the destruction in its turn of the conquering power by the Greeks, the disintegration of Alexander's empire, and a succession of Syrian monarchs by whom the Jews were to be oppressed. Finally, his prophetic eye saw the last and worst of the oppressors miserably destroyed, and his countrymen gloriously delivered. It is a wonderful book, this Book of Daniel. It has been one of the arsenals of the defenders of the predictive element in prophecy for centuries. But does it bring God near? What we need for this purpose is evidence that, when the terrible Maccabean crisis came, when the greatest king of his time had deliberately planned the destruction of the true religion, and men and women by thousands were sacrificing their lives in its defense, God found some one who, seeing more clearly than his fellows, could be employed to comfort them with the assurance that their prayers would be answered. We can hardly believe that this crisis had not its Isaiah, like the Assyrian; but when we begin to look for his utterances the Christian doctor unites with the Jewish rabbi in protesting that our search will prove bootless; that with the death of Malachi the Holy Spirit departed from Israel. Is God, then, the God of the theologians only?

The fact, then, is that neither Isaiah nor Daniel, when read as the work (entire) of the prophet whose name it bears, is a perfect means of grace. Let us see if the more recent views of the origin of these books will help us. Some will smile at the suggestion of going to the critics, who are popularly

supposed to make it their business to destroy our Bible, in such an emergency; but there will be no harm in examining their theories. Taking their revised Old Testament, we turn to Isaiah and find that about two thirds of it has disappeared. At first we are disposed to be indignant; but, when we notice that the parts which bring God nearest to us—those in which the events of Isaiah's time are reflected—have been preserved, we breathe a sigh of relief and proceed with the examination. The other great prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, are in place; but, after the latter, where the old Bible had a troublesome blank, we find a new book, the Isaiah of the captivity. Can it be, we exclaim, hardly daring to believe our eyes, that He who sitteth on the circle of the heavens really heard the cries of his captive people, and sent them some one to comfort and encourage them? And when the conquering Persian threatened Babylon, and they were tortured with doubt whether his success meant freedom or only a change of masters, did he indeed reveal to any of those who feared him what was to be the outcome? We turn again to the book. The words are the same that we have been accustomed to attribute to Isaiah, but how much greater significance they seem to have acquired in their new setting, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye soothingly to Jerusalem, and cry to her, that her service is completed, her iniquity expiated; that she hath received from the hand of Jehovah twofold for all her transgressions" (xl, 1, *f.*). This is the prelude; there follow such tender and inspiring messages as these: "But Zion saith, Jehovah hath forsaken me. Can a woman forget her suckling, that she should not yearn after the son of her womb? Such indeed may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Lo, I have graven thee on the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me. . . . As for thy waste and desolate places, and thy ruined land, surely, now, thou shalt be too strait for the inhabitants, and they that swallow thee up shall be far away" (xlix, 14, *ff.*). "Thus saith Jehovah, even he that formed thee from the womb, I am Jehovah, . . . that confirmeth the word of his servants, and performeth the counsel of his messengers; that saith of Jerusalem, It shall be inhabited, and of the cities of Judah, They shall be rebuilt,

and I will restore the waste places thereof; . . . that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and he shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be rebuilt, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be relaid" (xliv, 24, *ff.*). "Come down and sit in the dust, O fair virgin, Babylon! sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take millstones and grind meal, remove thy veil, strip off thy train, uncover thy leg, pass through the rivers. . . . I was wroth with my people, I profaned my inheritance, and I gave them into thy hand. Thou didst show them no mercy; upon him that was aged thou didst make thy yoke very heavy. And thou saidst, I shall be a lady forever, and didst not lay these things to heart, nor remember the issue thereof" (xlvii, 1, *ff.*). "Burst forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for Jehovah will comfort his people, he will redeem Jerusalem; Jehovah will make bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God" (lii, 9, *f.*). How the hearts of the oppressed Jews must have leaped when these eloquent words were first uttered! If, however, they are really God's answer to the cry for help that ascended from the captives in Babylonia, may we not trust him in our time of need?

Daniel, too, has been given a new place in the Bible. The best authorities tell us that it must have been written in 165 B. C., when Antiochus Epiphanes, enraged at being balked in his plans against Egypt by the Romans, had vented his fury upon Jerusalem, razing much of the city, killing many of the inhabitants, and, to crown all, defiling the temple by substituting the worship of Zeus for that of Jehovah; when the Jews under Judas Maccabæus were preparing for a final struggle for their homes and their religion. Then, they say, some one who saw God's hand in the convulsions of the preceding centuries foresaw and announced to his despairing compatriots the overthrow of the tyrant and the triumph of their holy cause. If, however, this date is correct, this book, like that of the second Isaiah, is an illustration of Amos's law that "Jehovah doeth nothing without revealing his purpose to his servants,

the prophets," and a new argument for faith in a protecting and directing Providence.

The answer, then, to anyone who, like the brother quoted, is anxious to know whether the new views will save souls is that, just as he who has a literary or theological interest in the Old Testament finds that they enhance its value in these respects, so he whose interest is predominantly religious will find that they increase, rather than diminish, its efficacy as a means of grace. One is therefore justified in maintaining that the results of the study of the history of the Old Testament have been beneficial, even from the religious point of view. My task is completed. The outcome can be summed up in a few words. Investigation has taken from us a collection of books that we did not know how to read, and given it back to us in a form in which it must command greater interest and admiration; it has taken from us a mass of teachings that we could not thoroughly understand, and given it back to us so arranged that we can at length appreciate its value; it has taken from us a means of grace that we did not always know how to use, and given it back to us with the key to its highest efficacy. If, however, this is really the effect of criticism, when properly understood, what ought to be our attitude toward it and those by whom it has been conducted? Hear the words of a parable. A woman came to R. Jose, saying, "Was it not wrong for God to take from Adam, while he slept, the rib from which he made Eve?" The rabbi answered, "If some one should secretly take from you an ounce of silver, and openly give you in return for it a pound of gold, would you call him a thief?"

W. G. Mitchell

Art. V.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST.

The religious thought of to-day is largely characterized by unrest. This may not mean that religion itself has lost anything in respect of either its power or its significance, but only that the view-point from which it must be considered has so changed as to necessitate some readjustments between what we know and what we believe. That there has been, is now, and for a long time to come will be need of such readjustments there can be no doubt. The domain of myth and superstition is always being invaded by knowledge, which ultimately must retrieve it from their sway.

In all conflicts between science and religion—always more imaginary than real, because not the principals but only their outrunners, or at most their lieutenants, are on the field—the claims of science should receive large consideration; for although, for the time being, some of it may prove to be only "science falsely so-called," it may yet be on its way to true science, because an hypothesis not true in itself often proves to be, for working purposes, one from which we can reach the firm ground of knowledge. Besides, it is of no use to fight the men who are exploring for facts; for whether they be digging in the earth with pick and shovel, sweeping the heavens with their telescopes, or examining under the microscope, we shall be obliged in the end to adjust our thinking to exactly what they find. If they find nothing we shall have no readjustments to make; but if they find anything, no matter what, or where, nor how small it may be, it must find its place, not as a dissonant, but as an harmonious, part of the universal whole, even at the expense of our previous conceptions. Facts, indeed, are always slaughtering our imperfect theories. It is painful, of course, to witness so many of these tragedies, but the necessity is upon us in order that we may build our house on the bed-rock of fact and truth.

This is an age of knowledge. The ages of belief in myths and superstitions, in ghosts, hobgoblins, and demons, are well-nigh past. The world, in fact, for a long time has been grow-

ing less divine—less divine in order that it may become more divine, the many having given way in order to the One who is greater than they all. The process by which this has come to pass has been a painful one to some, but the gain to all, including themselves, has been immense. The religious world has lost in the many, but has gained in the One, has found for the gods of high Olympus and for all other gods a more than substitute in the "one God and Father of all." This revolutionizing process has come to us in many ways and through many sources. First of all, it has come through and by means of the natural sciences, and especially through evolution, which marshals all their generalizations into one vast scheme or plan, of which continuity and progress are the chief characteristics. Then, keeping step with these, there has been a study of comparative philology and comparative religion, not overlooking the so-called higher criticism, which means simply a study of the sacred literatures as literature—of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures found in the Old and New Testaments. It is not too much to say that, in the judgment of many scholars and thinkers, a revolution in theology is not only impending, but that even now it is taking place, in consequence of the many facts which have been discovered by a study of these various subjects. It may be that "revolution" is somewhat too strong a term, but revolutions even are mostly benign. A revolution in theology would not at all imply loss to religion. Religion is quite apart from its incidents, and theology is but one of its incidents. Doubtless there are things which are fundamental to religion, but it is somewhat difficult to say just what they are. Buddhism is a religion, and, next to Christianity, formulated the purest code of morals ever known to man; and yet it has in its teaching neither God nor heaven. Mosaism was a religion, but it had, so far as we know, no doctrine of immortality. The fundamentals, it may be, are what Boyd Carpenter calls the "permanent elements" in religion, namely, dependence, fellowship, and progress. But there may be a sense of dependence, and yet no just conception of God; there may be a desire for fellowship, and yet no adequate knowledge of Him who inspires that desire; and there may be progress, and but little knowledge as to either

the whence or the whither. Progress is by seeking, and seeking is in order to find. And yet a certain class of people never weary in telling us that what is new in religion is false. Will some one kindly tell us just when that venerable lie became truth? If that statement be truth, how can theology be progressive, which it certainly is? The time was when the doctrines of immortality, the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man were new; were they, therefore, false? If it be assumed that the new is false, and that only the old is true, then might eyes and books as well be closed and investigations cease; in which case religion would be hopelessly foredoomed to stagnation, corruption, and decay.

Much of our trouble, much of this unrest, comes in from the true which is new; but it comes in just where Jesus saw that it would, from the putting of the new wine into old bottles. And already the ruin of old bottles is immense. The loss, of course, is not much, but the *débris* is imposing. It is the new and better conception of God than that which our fathers and the ancients possessed which brings to us most of our present difficulties. It is simply impossible any longer to put him into the old categories. God is always to us, in thought, just what our intelligence is able to make him. He can speak to us only in terms of the rest of our knowledge. What we know conditions our conceptions of him; therefore the God of Moses is not our God. True, he had the same Being in mind that we have, but his thought of him is not our thought. Our God would not have allowed Moses as the God of Moses did—so he thought—to slaughter to extinction the Midianites, men, women, and children, reserving only the virgins for a worse fate. Our God is not the God of a Spaniard, nor of a Turk; nor is he the God of some of our fathers of one hundred and fifty years ago, who, in their opinion, had covered the floor of hell with infants not a span long. Our God is not capricious, but orderly; he is not brutal, but merciful; he is not vengeful, but loving; and he is not a sovereign simply, almighty in despotism, but he is a Father, infinite in love. It is the multitude of new facts which will harmonize only with these new views of God, but which many are trying to bottle up in the old views that demand recognition. These

facts, gathered as they have been from such different sources, all pointing so significantly to a beginning away back, to a plan in creation consecutively administered, and to general progress by means of resident forces in nature, and all piled up so rapidly, have tended to confuse the minds of many, and to make them feel that, somehow, if they would hold on to their facts, they must let go of their religion. It is just at this point that peril confronts more than one class. The stupidity and stubbornness with which many contest the facts, in order to ward off what they conceive to be the dangers which threaten their religion, become an offense to many intelligent people; so that, on the one hand, there is a class of men who regard religion as being too sacred for scientific investigation, and, on the other hand, another class, largely so because of the first, who regard the same religion as a tissue of errors and hallucinations, and as being utterly beneath their notice. It is these unassimilated facts—unassimilated because they have come to us too rapidly—which have caused dismay on the one hand and disgust on the other, both classes being equally at fault, because the first should have waited in faith, and the second with patience, until new interpretations should have harmonized the truths of religion with the facts of science.

The cause of this unrest, then, we have not had to go far to seek. It is not because men are less inclined to religion than they have been. In fact, the scientific spirit of the age compels us to take religion, and not the Christian religion alone, but all religion, into account as something that must be reckoned with, something which is here not by caprice, nor as having been smuggled in by cunning priests for selfish ends, but as something which is here in a divine order to meet a great human need. That is scientific. But it is not science, neither is it logic, to adduce the universality of religion as proof of a common moral nature in man, and hence of the need of religion, and then turn around and deny that the various religions, in virtue of which we have a universal, are religion. That is to kill the argument as soon as it is made.

Religion has its place with other great forces in the evolution of society, and doubtless is the greatest of them all. In the intellectual and moral elevation of man it is a power recog-

nized by nearly all philosophers, statesmen, and lawgivers. And that power remains in proportion to the purity of the religion, however variant its forms may be. Men may cease to consult the oracles at Dodona and at Delphi, may learn that their confidence in divinations and auspices has been misplaced and even abused, but this may only mean that they are now ready to receive the apostles of a better religion. But there is none better than the Christian religion. Does this unrest, then, foretoken the fact that this also is to lose its hold on men, and that ultimately the world will get beyond any form of religious belief and practice? Does it mean that science is to become a substitute for religion, and that agnosticism will take the place of rational faith? Is the world, in fact, getting tired of God, and would it prefer a crass materialism that would end all hope of personal immortality? Surely none of these conclusions rationally follow. And yet it is just here that the reason for unrest and apprehension from this cause emerges. With the substance of the Christian religion men were never better, never even so well, satisfied as now; but for the philosophies in which it has been dressed up, for out-worn theologies which have made it artificial and mechanical, and especially for the excessive supernaturalism which has been made both its foundation and its defense, they have little respect, and, if possible, less use. When, in vast assemblies of working people, one hears almost in the same moment a hiss for the Church and applause for Jesus Christ, a ready acceptance of the Sermon on the Mount and a stubborn rejection of the teaching and authority of the Church, sharp discriminations between the Christianity of the Church and the Christianity of Jesus, it is time for us to realize that others are discriminating, even if we are not, between the kernel, the substance of the faith, and any husks or accidents which may surround it. What these people demand is that, as to facts, they shall be treated ingenuously; they do not want to feel that they are being duped; and as to purity and fruit, they want to feel that the best religion is somewhere near being at its best.

The ever-widening gulf between naturalism and supernaturalism comes in also to figure as a cause of this unrest in religion. It is just here that the conflict between science and re-

ligion becomes greatest. True, many of their past differences seem to have been composed; and yet, because of the rapid multiplication of new, but unassimilated, facts, the supernaturalism of religion is becoming more and more obnoxious to the naturalism of science. However, for the sake of clearness it ought to be observed that not religion, but theology, is the antithesis to science. Supernaturalism is separable from religion, and the basis of religion is independent of science. Nevertheless, supernaturalism has been so mixed up with religion, has been so much exploited by the theologies in its behalf, that we have come too much to feel that it is the basis of religion and that if the supernatural suffer religion also must suffer with it. But this is not so, or else must religion often have suffered since the foundation of the world. For humanity has come up through a long reign of constantly diminishing myths and superstitions. Its gods many, we suspect, however it may be with men, have reached Nirvana; but though over every inch of the way men have fought for their myths, and held on as long as possible to their superstitions, yet has the reign of law become more and more a certainty. We have a good illustration in the case of Nicias. When he was about to withdraw his forces from the siege of Syracuse, Plutarch tells us, there was an eclipse of the moon, which frightened not only the common soldiers but Nicias as well. Plutarch tells us, in his quaint way, that the explanations of Anaxagoras as to "how the moon was enlightened and overshadowed" were quite recent and but little known, chiefly "because the people would not then tolerate natural philosophers and theorists, as they then called them, about things above; as lessening the divine power, by explaining away its agency into the operation of irrational causes and senseless forces acting by necessity, without anything of Providence, or a free agent." That is an excellent putting of the whole case, and clearly indicates the ground of contention as between science and superstition. In that particular case, of course, it looks very weak and foolish, and yet, on a much broader field, the same thing is being done to-day. And with the same results, too, for all the way along the "philosophers and theorists" have had their way. Fancy has given way before fact, and myth has fled a-

the approach of science. Every inch of the way has been contested, and yet the retreat of what we call supernaturalism has been constant.

It is time to make a much-needed distinction. What we have called the supernatural is nothing more than the creation of ignorance and superstition. But their myriads of gods have been swept away, and it now only remains that we cease to impute the methods of the many to the One. This one God is the only truly supernatural, and between him and the natural there can be no conflict, for in the last analysis they are one. That is to say, there is nothing natural that does not depend on this truly supernatural, and there is no manifestation of the supernatural which does not find its expression in and through the natural. It is a difficult lesson, however, to learn, that to find out how a thing is done is not the same thing as to find that it has not been done at all, and that, especially, to explain the genesis and growth of anything by processes which are natural is not to discredit the resident Force in nature which alone can make these processes possible. And so it has happened that, notwithstanding our fears, which all along have had the wildest expression, on account of the advance of naturalism, it has been true that the truly supernatural had been given a larger place in the universe—that is to say, we have just discovered, so to speak, that there is a universe and that the resident force therein is One whose laws are also one throughout its vast extent. It is true, of course, that all such discoveries occasion almost unspeakable alarm; but this speedily passes away, because readjustments are soon made which reassure the timid, and quickly it is made to appear that the discoveries can only have a beneficent effect.

Take, for instance, as a first illustration from the history of progress the substitution of the heliocentric theory of the planetary system for the geocentric, which was altogether the theory of the Old Testament. The earth was so established "that it cannot be moved," and the sun and moon were "lights in the firmament" of heaven "to give light upon the earth," and the stars, those innumerable suns, were for the same purpose. The earth was the great center of the whole creation, and sun, moon, and stars formed its train of minister-

ing attendants. Great indeed was the discovery that, except phenomenally, the exact reverse of this were all true; that our earth is among the smaller planets, that our sun is among the smaller suns, and that the planets of our system, spinning on their axes, go circling around the sun, while our sun and its kindred suns go sweeping around a still greater center,

> Forever singing as they shine,
> "The hand that made us is divine."

And great also was the terror of timid saints. But it is significant that the true theory of the universe, as well as every exhibition by aid of microscope and telescope of its wondrous mechanism and extent, is hailed now by intelligent Christian men with as much delight as it once was with dismay. It justifies in a degree that Job could never have known his exclamation, "Lo, these are parts of his ways; . . . but the thunder of his power who can understand?" Nor was the discovery of the law of gravitation by Newton of less effect. So far as religion was concerned its first result was a shock to faith. Skepticism was hopeful, and even jubilant. God was at last removed from nature. It is said that Voltaire's advocacy of the newly discovered law was chiefly in the interest of French skepticism. And it was indeed another triumph of naturalism, but not of a naturalism that excludes God, and Voltaire's atheism could have been satisfied with nothing less than that. This, on the contrary, was a discovery that worlds and atoms are governed by the same law, that worlds, indeed, are governed through their atoms; and this would seem to justify the conclusion that, because there is law, there must be God, and because there is but one law there can be but one matter, and so also but one God. Law, the same law throughout infinite space, a natural law which is measurable and can be formulated, law that conditions the "sparrow's fall," as it does also the "music of the spheres"—what though in thought it be a substitute for the anthropomorphic arm, the arm of the Almighty which upholds all—who would give up the grand idea, but would not also rather add this to it, that this law is that arm?

This discussion thus far is of interest because it calls to mind a little portion of a road over which we have come, of

which there remains doubtless much more of the same kind for us to travel. New facts, always disquieting to the unlearned, but the delight of scholars and investigators, come pouring in upon us, from a study of all the natural sciences, whose teaching is that the world is ruled, not by caprice, but by law, not through miracles, but through the agency of natural forces. Evolution, comparative language, comparative theology, and the so-called higher criticism, historical and literary, are all making large contribution of facts to this effect. Most of the experts in all these departments of investigation tells us that their facts point in the direction of the truth of evolution. To some this is an occasion of alarm. They evidently feel that evolution is unfriendly to religion, not distinguishing between religion and their theology. In that case we submit their first question should be, not, Is our theology or our craft in danger? but, What are the facts, and how may they be interpreted? There are few now who oppose evolution as a whole who do not accept it as the "method of God in creation" up to the time when life appeared on the earth. In doing this they have left to themselves no standing room for their further opposition and present alarm; for it is unthinkable that God should have laid new foundations at the point of the genesis of life in the world only to abandon them as soon as the generations of living beings had been fairly launched. For, however God may once have made men of the dust of the earth, he is not making them in that way now, and however he may have been a mechanic once, he is working through natural forces now. The first condition of matter, according to science, was a nebulous condition; out of that condition, it is believed by nearly all, the heavens and the earth have been evolved. To the world-processes now going forward we ourselves are witnesses that they are by a process of evolution. There remains, therefore, only that unknown middle, the genesis of life, about which, perhaps, we can know nothing; but it will be scientific to assume that God has had but one method, and that is the method of evolution, about which we do know something. But, not to argue the matter, let us suppose evolution as a theory to be generally accepted, where comes in the peril? It brings in no new problems for

solution. It does, indeed, offer its aid in order to the solution of some old problems. The solution of the problem of creation went halt until evolution gave it two good legs to walk on, continuity of plan and progress. Of the "problem of evil" it is too early yet to speak; but help is needed from somewhere, as witness its many solutions, which up to date have solved nothing. This fact should suggest that there is an unknown element in the problem, without which it cannot be solved. It may be that evolution will yet disclose that element. Evolution certainly may be theistic. In point of fact the great majority of evolutionists to-day are theists. Evolution means progress; and certainly a universe going ahead would seem to be a far better exponent of God's power and wisdom than one which has such a tendency to go backward as this has been supposed to have had. And progress means protection, and all things tend to that end. And now, should we feel obliged to substitute for the doctrine of original sin the great law of heredity, evolution would still be Christian; for whether we say, in order to account for man's sinful condition, that he has inherited a corrupt nature from the fall of Adam, or that he is not yet rid of his brute inheritance, the "law" in the members, "warring against the law" of the mind, would still remain to lay the foundation for dependence, the first permanent element in religion. The need for Christ as a Saviour is in the man whom he is to save, where evolution would put it, and not in some one else; and as this need is universal, whereof the universality of religion is proof, the Christ must be one who can teach, inspire, and save all who need. In fact, there is no reason why the religion of an evolutionist should not be "pure, then peaceable, . . . full of . . . good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

The next disturbing subject of inquiry is comparative religion. One certainly ought to sympathize with such people as have had little time to read, and still less time to think, on this matter, who honestly feel that to subject the Christian religion, along with other religions, to scientific treatment is little less than sacrilege; but all religions have had a development, and therefore a history, and it is not too much to say that they will all yield to philosophical treatment. And, instead of

harm having come from the study of comparative theology, it would seem that only good can come, because of the greater breadth of view which it gives. It has compelled us to cease being provincial, and helped us to become cosmopolitan; and it has certainly broadened to thought the foundations on which religion has been built. When Jehovah, in the thought of the Jews, was their Jehovah and theirs alone, it followed, of course, that they alone were his people; but when the full significance of the revelation that he was the God and Father of all men was seen such conceptions no longer had standing room. God is much too large and too just to be a respecter of persons or to have favorite peoples. But that is what the Jew did not know, and what we still are trying to learn. If God limited his care to a small branch of Semitic people; if he inspired only a few of their men, and them only for a limited period of time, neglecting other peoples and other ages; if he so abandoned in the times of their ignorance all other nations, as Max Müller has so strongly put it, that "their whole religion was falsehood, their whole worship a farce, and their whole life a mockery," then must we say that religion has been built on so narrow a pedestal that it cannot possibly stand. It is absurd to suppose that we can discredit all other religions and not in so doing discredit our own; and it is in vain for us to attempt to laugh out of court the myths and miracles of all other nations and religions, and then hope to escape the scorn of intelligence while we indulge in the feat of verifying all the myths and miracles of the Jewish Church and people; and it is worse than folly to deny that there have been inspired men in other nations besides the Jewish, and other laws besides the law of Moses, which have been schoolmasters to bring men to Christ. The necessity is upon us either to broaden our doctrine of inspiration or to abandon it; for with such conceptions of God as we now have we cannot have in him a respecter of persons or of nations, nor limited atonements, nor limited inspirations and revelations, either as to peoples or as to times, but we must have an administration of the All-Father which, while it gives the divine Jesus of Nazareth to be the "light of the world," also gave Gautama, the gentle "ascetic of Kapilavastu" to be for a time the "light of Asia."

In this connection the higher criticism cannot be passed over. As to the alarm which some feel, doubtless that is needless. For, in the first place, we need not fear the critics. They are mostly devout Christian scholars whose work is intended to be, not destructive, but constructive. They are not trying to dig the sand out from under their own feet, because they have the same interest in reaching the truth that we have. It is because these men have no heritage in error that they are seeking for rock foundations on which to build. The higher critics propose to treat as literature the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It is their aim to find out, as far as possible, when, by whom, under what conditions, and for what ends or purposes these Scriptures were written, in order that they may know approximately what elements in them are human and what are divine. This method of treatment may develop the fact that there is a larger human element in this literature than our fathers had supposed; but in doing this it will put what may be called the divine element on broader and more solid foundations. The human element, properly distinguished, will no longer stand in the way to vex and hinder the divine. And this method of treating the Scriptures is by no means so new as many people think. Witness the word "interpolation," to be found in all the commentaries, not excepting Adam Clarke's, and Wesley's *Notes*. How can it be claimed that the Bible is inerrant, in the face of these interpolations, not to speak of other matters? If one or a dozen interpolations, why not many? We cannot do better, perhaps, than to take a little exercise in criticism, along a certain line, as an illustration of what is meant. There is nothing better for our purpose than Mark xvi, 9–20. The authors of the Revised Version say in the margin, "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end." What does that mean? This, that up to the time at least when the verses first found their way into some manuscript they were still making Scripture. Probably some transcriber, seeing these verses in the margin of his manuscript, said to himself, "All this would better be in the text," and in it went; or he had heard a tradition to this effect, and he said, "Here is the place for it," and with

the same result. If the revisionists had said, "From verse 9 to the end is in the two oldest Greek manuscripts, but not in later ones," it would mean that the work of criticism had already, away back there, been begun. Not quoting the whole of this interpolation, let us take verses 17, 18: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." The man who wrote that, whoever he may have been, was far more heathen than Christian. Witness some heathen tribes in Africa to-day where the same doctrine is taught, and where women accused of impurity are compelled to submit to the poison test. Ill-fated things they are, and always have been, because deadly poison, in such cases, always records a verdict of "guilty." How thankful we should be for the manuscripts, and to the critics! Why? Because we are not now obliged to believe that Jesus ever said any such thing. If he did say it he said what was never true. It was never true that good men and women could drink any deadly thing and be in no wise hurt thereby, and Jesus never said it. It was not at all like Jesus to claim such immunities for his disciples, but it was like him to warn them of their limitations and perils. A thousand times, say we, sacrifice the inerrancy of the book, rather than the perfect mental poise and sanity of Jesus; for the book is helpful only as it helps to a better comprehension of the Son of God, who is the supreme revelation of God's love and fatherhood.

Now, in view of all this, what should be the attitude of the Church in order to allay this unrest and needless apprehension? For one thing it should not be an eager attitude. There is a great deal in fit audience. The wise conservatism of Jesus should be imitated. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Doubtful things should remain in the background, but not to the point of preaching what one does not believe. Neither should the attitude of the Church be apologetic, as though we have something to fear. There is no occasion for dismay; and it is no compliment to Christianity, this everlasting terror lest some-

thing shall come along that will wreck it. It has stood the tests of nineteen centuries, and if it cannot still stand the tests of nineteen centuries more it cannot be what we want. Nor again should the attitude of the Church be one suggesting unfriendliness to facts, no matter what they may be. This is a world in which facts are able to fight their own battles, and there can be no peace until their victories are all won. The young man, returning from school, where he has been a student of facts under the direction of men who are entitled to speak, is not reassured when, on his first Sunday at home, he hears the man in the pulpit stubbornly contesting these facts. He can but feel that this man, if he will deny facts, may be a religious smuggler who will, if he can, import as fact what has not paid duty to truth. The scientific habit of this young man's mind has been outraged, and he is tempted to take revenge at his own expense by denying the verities of religion altogether. On the contrary, the Church should encourage the utmost liberty of thought and expression, always, of course, within Christian limits, and in return should demand the utmost faithfulness in the accounting for what has been found. There should be no terrorizing of the men who alone are competent to speak in their several departments of investigation. They are experts, and their devotion to truth should be accepted as evidence of their honesty. What they find, that they must bring to us, and what they bring should be received with utmost hospitality and carefully weighed. True, this may necessitate new interpretations and some readjustments, but there is no discredit in all that. The discredit comes in only when we delay this work until necessity makes it imperative. If we cannot boast of the facility with which we have made new interpretations we can at least rejoice in their value when made. Who any longer has anything to say in favor of the six literal days of creation, or of the age of the earth being only six thousand years, or of the dogma that physical death was caused by sin? And yet these were great questions less than fifty years ago, and many were the pitiful wrigglings by which good men tried to avoid the inevitable. When geology had made it plain that death was in the world long ages before man came into it, think of the theologian Hitchcock wrestling

with the geologist Hitchcock in the weak, though well-meant, suggestion that death among the animals was anticipatory of the time when man would die because he had sinned. And it is marvelous the number of drowning men, Horace Bushnell among them, who caught at that straw. Thus we see that many things which we had thought vital to religion were only hindrances after all. Think of such a man as John Wesley, within a period comparatively so recent, saying, "I cannot give up the belief in witches without giving up the Bible also." Well, what he could not do we have done for him and for ourselves, and feel that it was a very nice job of house-cleaning; but what relation he could have thought to exist between a belief in witches and a belief in the Bible it is difficult for us to understand.

Christian liberty should be the watchword of all. Occasion may give authority; but, aside from that, the men who closed the canon of sacred Scripture had no more right to close it than we have to open it. For one thing, chiefly: they were not so well qualified to judge as we are. And yet what might be lawful for us might not be expedient, and especially since the Bible, as we now have it, contains "all things necessary for salvation." But it is a mistake to deny the infallibility of popes and councils and then to contend for the inerrancy of their work; and it was a still greater mistake for the Christian Church to attempt to put the stamp of divine authority on the entire mass of Jewish Scriptures and then proceed to build itself up so much on the foundations of Judaism, as though Christianity were but Judaism under a somewhat different guise. Men feel this, and they must have liberty to express it. Other men feel that such views are shocking; to them, the same liberty. But we must have liberty—liberty for the sake of liberty and honesty—since intolerance promotes hypocrisy. Ten to one, give us a heretic rather than a hypocrite. And then, what boots all this petty heresy-hunting, since the heretic of yesterday is the orthodox of to-day, and the martyr of to-day will be the hero and saint of to-morrow?

But as to liberty of thought and speech in the Church, be the pope of thyself and of no one else. Why sit in judgment on men, compelling them to take the bitter in order that they

may get the sweet? Why say to the man who wants the Sermon on the Mount, "If you take that, you must also take with it in a literal way the story of the whale and Jonah?" Or why utter that most pernicious saying, "All Scriptures stand or fall together," as though the same God who said, through Jesus, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," had also said, through Moses, "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself; thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien?" It is his hunger, not yours, that should determine what he shall eat; and it is his power to assimilate, not yours, that ought to determine in what quantities that food will be helpful. Or, if one has become enamored of the twelfth of Romans and the thirteenth of First Corinthians, why insist that he shall receive as a level companion piece with them the one hundred and ninth Psalm? Many a man not a professed Christian would be one if nothing but what is essential were required of him. The unrest and discussion must go on until there be, in respect to nonessentials, liberty, and in respect to essentials, charity. This does not mean that we are to have less religion or less Christianity, for both of these have existed under diverse and even opposing faiths; but it does mean that a man is religious, not because of what he believes, but because of what he is and does. Heresy in the future will be more and more of the life, and less and less of the creed. Inquisitions will be for character, and character is best formed under conditions of liberty. Let us hail, then, that time coming, so "long, long on the way," when liberty of investigation, thought, and expression in the Church shall be absolute and perfect; when men shall be regarded as benefactors, not because of what they have suppressed, but because of what they have found and revealed—the time when the question will be, not, Is this new? but, Is it true? and when to be right will outweigh all other questions.

J. F. Schaffer

Art. VI.—WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE, A MINNESINGER OF YESTERDAY.

The date of this German poet's birth is unknown, and scholars have tried in vain to determine it from the internal evidence of his own poetry, as well as from the scant evidence furnished by his contemporaries. The period of his literary activity, however, began about 1187. The place of the poet's birth has proved as great a *crux* as the year, and despite the purpose of several erudite essays to locate his native place it remains yet unknown. It was probably in Austria that he was born, which country shares with Swabia the distinction of being the chief seat of the minnesingers. It was this part of Germany where French influence was slow to work its way, and where the popular song and poetry longest retained its artless simplicity and purity. Walther, like most of the minnesingers, was doubtless of noble birth, though poor. His youth was spent at Vienna, at the court of Duke Frederick the Catholic, of the house of Babenberg, who proved to be his Mæcenas. Upon the death of his patron in 1198, in Palestine, Walther became a wandering gleeman, traveling hither and thither throughout Germany, singing his song with all the freshness and spontaneity of the nightingale of his native land, and breaking out now and then in a pathetic, heartfelt cry for a local habitation, for a home. He visited not only the Babenberg princes in Austria, but also the courts of Thuringia, Meissen, Bavaria, and Carinthia, and was entertained by the emperors Philip of Swabia, Otto IV, and Frederick II. A poor gleeman, a beggar, he wandered from court to court, but nowhere found a home till Frederick II, moved by the sad story of his poverty and touched by the melody of his song, gave him a small fief, it is supposed in Würzburg. At this gift Walther's heart leaped with joy, and, his long-cherished desire for a home gratified, he breaks out in a joyful exultation: "I have a fief, hearken all the world, I have a fief."

Peripatetic gleeman, wandering beggar though Walther was, he was yet in good company. The reader will recall that the minstrels used to count among their ranks even kings.

Was not our own good and great King Alfred at one time a wandering gleeman? And who knows but that Walther may have even met in his wanderings Richard Cœur de Lion, who was traveling through Germany in disguise, when he was taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria in 1193, and was only liberated upon the payment of a heavy ransom? If the patriotic Walther ever met him and recognized him he assuredly attacked him severely for the extreme arrogance with which he treated all German crusaders while in the Holy Land.

Walther was a true son of his beloved Fatherland. Though in his wanderings he visited other countries and peoples his patriotism never deserted him, and he still loved his country and people with all their faults and weaknesses. And faults they had. There is a Latin proverb expressive of patriotism —and no literature can furnish more patriotic sentiments than can the Latin, for no people ever loved their land more than the Roman loved Rome—put by that intensely Roman poet in the line, "*Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.*" This is singularly applicable to Walther. He may have gone into other countries and changed his party as well as his patron, but he never changed his principles, he never changed his heart. His patriotism breaks forth in a glowing song of rapturous praise of his native land. He says:

Lands have I seen many, and the best I saw with frankness and sincerity. But may misfortune befall me if I could ever bring my heart to take pleasure in foreign ways. Now, what would it avail me to speak falsely? The German manner of life bears off the palm. From the Elbe to the Rhine, and again as far as Hungary, live the best people that I have known in the world. If I can rightly judge good conduct and manner of life, so help me God, then I would swear that here women are better than elsewhere ladies are. German men are well-behaved, and the women just like angels. Whoever censures them is himself deceived. I cannot otherwise understand it. Virtue and true love, whoever is in search of these should come to our land. Never failing joy is there. Long may I live therein.

But a change came over the spirit of his dreams. Clouds began to gather on the horizon of his hitherto bright and joyous sky. Later he fell on evil days, days of sorrow and mourning. He saw chivalry beginning to decay. He saw his beloved Fatherland torn by sectional jealousies and civil strife.

The civil war Walther attributed to the evil designs of the pope, whom he hated cordially and whom he called the new Judas, who wanted to betray the Church to the devil for the traditional consideration of so many pieces of silver. He of course alludes to the attempted effort of Innocent III, who took advantage of the interim of civil war in Germany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, to extort money from the Germans. His soul breaks out in righteous indignation as he contemplates the evil perpetrated in the name of the Church, and in an impassioned utterance he exclaims—what he says should be the cry of every tongue to heaven—"O, Lord, how long?" He then adds in a scathing invective against the pope in his abuse of the papal power:

> Christianity lies in the hospital, and waits in vain for a healing drink from Rome. The pope himself increases infidelity, for he leads the clergy by the devil's reign; they are full of vices, fail signally to reduce their preaching to practice, point us to heaven, and themselves tread the primrose path of dalliance. . . . And he who is a Christian only in words is in reality half a heathen.

These passages in his work, in which he unmasks the vices and abuses of the clergy masquerading in the livery of the Church, contain almost as drastic satire as the pages of Juvenal, in which he lashed with so severe a hand the gross immorality and licentiousness of the Rome of the Flavian dynasty. Nor did Walther mince words or use vague generalities or pleasing euphemisms. And since, in his day, poetry was a far greater power than we of the present can realize, his diatribes in the form of songs flew through the country like the trenchant political pamphlets of a Swift. But Walther cannot be said to have achieved any great success in the rôle of a reformer. He did not set out with any such purpose as to reform the Church in Germany. His was the more modest endeavor to stay in a measure the encroachments of the grasping papacy upon his own country. The day of the Reformation had not yet dawned, and that work was reserved for a man of greater force than the knight of the Vogelweide.

In his latter days Walther became more religious and devout. He wrote hymns setting forth his creed and his confession. The very first song in Wilmann's and Lach-

mann's editions of his works is a long religious hymn of elevated feeling and lofty thought in praise of the holy Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and of Christ's crucifixion. He exhorts men to seek eternal salvation. He has a deep and abiding sense of the vanity of all earthly things. He longs for that spirituality of life which is so salutary, elevating, and inspiring in its influence on the human heart. In his old age he bade farewell to the world which he addressed thus dramatically, under the figure of the devil's innkeepers: "Lady World, you may tell your host I have paid my bill in full. My account is settled; let him strike my name from his book. He who is in his debt may well sorrow. Before incurring a debt with him I would rather borrow of a Jew. He waits on us till a certain day, and then he takes a pledge from him who cannot pay." Lady World replies: "Walther, you are angry with me without cause. You ought to remain with me. Think what honor I have conferred upon you, what pleasure I have given you. Reflect." But Walther knows her too well, and his resolute reply is: "Like a babe I have suckled too long at your breast. I will now wean myself. It is time. Your tenderness has almost been my ruin. . . . Your face is beautiful, but your back is frightful with horrible monsters. I will ever hate you. . . . God give you a good night, Lady World; I will go to my own home." And so he did, turning from earthly to heavenly love. He then lent his influence to the incipient crusade of Frederick II, and devoted his talent to writing pious marching songs for the crusaders.

Whether Walther himself participated in the crusade and visited the Holy Land is a problem which we cannot settle at so distant a day. The facts of his life are meager, and if he had not woven so much of current history into his poetry we should know almost nothing of his career. It is true that we gather a little information about him from his contemporaries, such as Reinmar von Hagenau and Wolfram von Eschenbach, but this is rather in the nature of scanty inference than of direct knowledge. But when we know so little about the great English dramatist and author whose bones lie moldering in the quiet church at Avon—so little that some even question the authenticity of his works, thus reducing his name to a mere

figurehead in literature—we should not be surprised that we have discovered so few facts about the career of a mediæval German poet. The surprise to us should rather be that we know as much as we do about him. Dr. Johnson said of the dog, trained to walk upright on its two hind legs, that the surprising thing to him was, not that the creature did not walk better, but that it walked as well as it did. So, when we consider the contingencies and dangers incident to the preservation of literary treasures of bygone ages the surprising thing to us is, not that we have not more preserved of the works of ancient and mediæval writers, but that we have any. We cannot then say that Walther did not visit the Holy Land. Indeed, far from denying that he did, we are forced, by the vivid and realistic description of scenes of Palestine contained in some of his sacred songs, to the almost irresistible conclusion that he must have been an eyewitness and himself borne the cross. If our inference is warranted that Walther took part in the crusade it was probably the crusade of 1228. The date of the poet's death—another inference, since the year is not known—was probably two years after this crusade, that is, 1230, and his dust is supposed to be resting, after his long, weary wanderings, in the peaceful churchyard at Würzburg.

We come now to speak of Walther's poetry. It belongs, as is well known, to that species of erotic poetry known as the "minnesong." This was the style of poetry cultivated in the chivalrous days of Germany. Its origin is to be found in the undercurrent of secular lyric poetry which existed during the period of clerical literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Even as early as 789 Charles the Great forbade the nuns to copy or send "*winileodos*," or love songs. The vagrant students who were given over to wine and merriment used to compose and sing Latin songs to their ladies. As chivalry progressed and the Provençal troubadour song extended its influence this species of poetry reached its efflorescence. Chivalry developed a new phase of love between man and woman, which was a distinctive characteristic of the minnesong. And these love ditties, when they were sung by the minstrels in the castles of mediæval Germany, were admired and even appropriated by the aristocracy. Walther, however,

sane man that he evidently was, did not go to the ridiculous extreme of exaggerated feeling in his devotion to woman, as some other of the minnesingers did, notably his model in the art, Reinmar von Hagenau, who expressed his feeling in this strong language: "I am suing for that which comprises all joys that a man can ever have in this world, namely, a woman." But Walther was after all a disciple of Reinmar, and the influence of the master is apparent in many points. It was only the healthy mind, common sense, and good taste of our poet that restrained him from the palpable exaggerations, the mawkish sentimentality, the artificial homage, and the narrow range which so glaringly mar the beauty and sweetness of much of the poetry of his master. Walther does not confine himself to love, and his range is much wider than Reinmar's. His varied interests bring him into touch with the world about him, with politics and the State. He threw off the inane and deadening conventionalities which the practice of his art imposed upon his fellows, and rose superior to them. There is a *verve* and freshness about his conception of love which are strikingly absent from the jejuneness and *persiflage* of its treatment by the other minnesingers. "Tell me," he asks in the opening verse of a poem on love, "what is *Minne?*" and himself replies: "*Minne* is the bliss of two hearts. If both share it alike, then *Minne* is there. Not shared equally, one heart alone cannot contain her."

It was a debatable question among the minnesingers whether "woman" (*Weib*), or "lady" (*Frau*), is the more honorable title. Your modern society precisionist prefers "lady," and would relegate the good old English word "woman" to the ranks of the low and debased, quite ignorant that history refuses to indorse his choice. Heinrich von Meissen defended "lady," and in consequence of his ardent defense was dubbed the ornamental title of "*Frauenlob.*" Walther, on the other hand, decided in favor of "woman." "'Woman,'" he breaks forth in one of his poems, "must ever remain the highest and noblest name for women; and this title honors them more than 'lady,' as I think." And so he honors the fair name of "woman" with his praise, though he also frequently uses "lady" (*Frau*).

Walther's poetry divides itself into two kinds, the love lyric and the *Spruch*. The latter is somewhat of the character of the epigram—short, pithy, and piquant—and is technically known as a proverb, or saying. Short, racy, and easy to remember, consisting usually of only one strophe and set to a pleasing melody, these sayings caught the popular ear, sang themselves through the head, and burned themselves into the memory. These poems are, as a rule, graphically expressed, and set forth the author's views in regard to public characters and affairs. They are rather political songs than genuine poetry. They are, however, not all equally interesting, and some of them are downright flat and dull, at least to us of the present day, though they may not have appeared so to the author's contemporaries. A good example of this species of his poetry is the poem beginning, "I heard the waters rushing," or "I sat on a rock." It was probably this latter that furnished the suggestion for the conventional posture of the poet, as found in the illuminated Paris manuscript of the minnesingers, where Walther appears sitting upon a rock, his head bowed and his chin resting on his hands. Some of these poems dealing with contemporary events are purely narrative, as, for instance, the poem on the Christmas feast of King Philip at Magdeburg, in the year 1199. It is in one of these that Walther makes so violent an attack upon the pope, Innocent III, for the gift-stanes by which he caused money to be raised in Germany for the crusade. In this and similar poems Walther shows himself a master of vituperation, of lampoon, and his lampoons are directed against the very highest ecclesiastical authority. Nor did they go unheeded, for he was a powerful enemy, and his attacks were much dreaded. In some of these poems he shows another side of his character. In the one in which he begs for protection from the biting cold his pleadings are really pathetic and touch the heart. "How I long for a fire to warm by!" he cries, piteously. "How I could then sing of the little birds, the meadows, and the blossoms as I once sang!"

Let us now turn to the other kind of Walther's poetry, his love lyrics, as these are more important and form the basis of his claim as a lyricist. None of the minnesingers equals

Walther in point of artistic finish and melody. Many have done well, but he excels them all. And yet his lyrics are not cold and lacking in passion. They are not like a certain kind of music, excellent in technique and finish, but lacking in expression and consequently cold and lifeless. Walther's is no frozen music. His lyrics are of rare beauty and grace, and tingle with life and feeling. They appeal to the heart as well as to the head. In reading them one feels a warmth and glow that come only from the heart. Take the poem, one of the most beautiful of its kind, in which he brings in his dream of meeting his love at the dance. It begins, "Take, O lady, this wreath," and continues:

> She took my offering
> Liké a young child to whom a gift is made,
> Her fair cheeks coloring
> Like a red rose beside a lily laid;
> Yet though, as if ashamed, her eyelids fell,
> She made a courtesy—
> That was her gift to me:
> If she gave more, be sure I will not tell.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I was wild with delight.
> Then day dawned, I woke. 'Twas all a dream.

Alas! it was only the poet's unsubstantial dream. But before the disillusion it was the very ecstasy of love. How artistic, how passionate, how beautiful withal! As he and his love gather flowers in the meadow his imaginative realism makes us feel the airy touch of "the falling blossoms upon the grass," and hear the nightingale in the neighboring copse pouring forth its liquid notes like "enchanted wine." It is in his graphic description, his imaginative realism, that Walther shows his superior art, his power to produce a charming illusion, to enchant us. "Under the Linden on the Heath" furnishes another striking example of this power. Here he presents a graphic picture of girlish bashfulness and the fascinating daring of first love. This song, which stands out so prominently on account of its *naïveté*, grace, and roguish fun, "we are almost inclined," says an eminent German critic, "to declare the most beautiful in the whole poetry of the minnesingers, so full is it of life and variety."

Walther has many lines of rare grace and beauty scattered throughout his poems. We venture to give a few of these in the admirable verse translation of Mr. Phillips, from whose English rendering we have just quoted a stanza. Take as a specimen these graceful, rhythmical verses:

Rosy mouth, ah, why so scornful?
Let thy laughter be.
Shame that that which makes me mournful
Should give joy to thee.

This somehow suggests Suckling's,

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Prythee, why so pale?

Or, take this little rose of a poem, entitled "A Kiss from Rosy Lips:"

O! would my dearest mistress but consent
To go with me and gather roses ever,
I'd fill the hours with such sweet argument
That not all time our bond of love should sever;
If from her rosy lips that so enchant me
One kiss she'd grant me,
A bliss more perfect I would ask for never.

This little ditty compares not unfavorably with Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd to his Love," or even with Shakespeare's madrigals in which he unbosoms his ardent passion to the beauty who inspired his sonnets. It is only in his sonnets, by the way, that that great genius revealed himself directly in his works, for in his plays he hides his personality behind his characters. This little song of Walther's has all the dewy freshness and fragrance of an Elizabethan love lyric. There is a playful quaintness about this little song, and a note of pleasant humor is heard at the close:

A straw it is that gladdens me;
It says that I shall win my wooing;
The blade I measured carefully,
As I had seen the children doing.
Will she be kind? Now hark to what it saith:
"She will, she won't, she will, she won't, she will!"
Oft as I ask, that is the answer still.
That comforts me—although it needs some faith.

One of the most striking characteristics of Walther's poetry is his love of nature. It is always an interesting theme for us

of the present day to study a poet's feelings for, and treatment of, nature. The air about him clarifies, and we get clearer ideas of his range and vision. In the present century nature is more of a force, of a reality, and comes in for a more extended treatment than ever before. During the Augustan period of English literature nature did not enter into the warp and woof of poetry as it did during the succeeding years. It was not in vogue in the early eighteenth century to regard nature as a reality and force. Fashions change. Who knows but that a day may come when Nature's spell shall be broken and men shall revert to the tastes and fashions of a former period, when they did not feel that keen interest in her that we of this century have felt? It is not every age of French painting that produces a Claude Lorrain, nor every age of English painting that brings forth a Turner. Like the poets of his day, who painted with words, the great English landscape painter caught the spirit of the times, and was so fully imbued with the *Zeitgeist* that he essayed to stereotype upon his canvas, for the enjoyment of the admiring beholders of his own and succeeding ages, the evanescent forms of beauty he everywhere beheld in nature. Nature was to him, as she was to Wordsworth, an impassioned being. Turner saw God himself in nature. "The sun is God," said he, as he lay dying, though he saw that sun only through a London mist. Tennyson, as well as Wordsworth, though perhaps not to the same extent, had a keen, appreciative feeling for Nature, and could enter into her various moods. Pope, on the other hand, like the men generally of his day, was sadly destitute of this feeling. He could stand unmoved, we may readily imagine, before a beautiful landscape, a daffodil sky, or a glorious, gorgeous sunset—a subject which would have thrilled Wordsworth or Tennyson with the intensest joy. But none of these things moved Pope. Nature did not appeal to the sensibilities of the men of his day and generation.

In mediæval times Walther was their Wordsworth. Not that he possessed that passion for nature which the great English seer did. That were almost impossible. But Walther had something of this feeling. His poetry is vocal with the songs of birds, redolent of the sweet breath of blossoming

flowers, and throbs with the genial current of life. He sings of the seasons with their respective appropriate settings, but in no conventional, lifeless way. Unlike Reinmar, his model, who evinces no appreciation of nature, Walther hails the return of smiling spring and mourns over the approach of biting winter. And his poems are always passionate. Indeed, he is the most impassioned lyrical poet German literature can boast the other side of Goethe. He had the happy art of introducing into his landscapes living men and women, and his pictures show us girls and boys playing in the meadow, or the lover and his love under the linden. In one of his most charming spring songs Walther represents even the flowers, blossoms, and clover as vying with one another in a friendly contest for beauty and grace. In another he sings of the flowers as they peer up in the dewy grass in the early morning to greet with smiles the rising sun, while the little birds pour forth their liquid melody. "What joy," he asks, "can be compared to this?" And he answers, "It is like heaven." But fairer still than all the glories of May is a beautiful woman, he says; and he adds, "Let May be March ere she be lost."

Let no one say who reads Walther von der Vogelweide that German poetry of the Middle Ages is destitute of all appreciation of, and feeling for, nature. We find this feeling in him just as we find it in

> The daisy by the shadow that it casts
> Protects the lingering dewdrop from the sun.

The difference is rather in degree than in kind. And yet, in Mr. Palgrave's recent book, *Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson*, no mention whatever is made of nature in German poetry—the author using landscape practically in the sense of nature. He gives copious examples to illustrate the treatment of nature in classical poetry, in French, in Italian, in Celtic, and in English poetry in his anthology, but passes over the German poetry in silence. Yet was not Walther's exquisite feeling for nature sufficient to establish his claim to mere mention in an anthology presumably intended to be representative? And where are the modern German poets? But this only parenthetically.

We wish to mention one other quality of Walther's poetry

before closing. We refer to a note of sadness and longing which occurs especially in his late poetry. It betokens a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction with things of time and sense. This is forcibly expressed in that beautiful and pathetic poem, probably the last he ever wrote, "Alas, how now are vanished all my years!" Truly this is a sad note, and in it there is surely surging

> the Virgilian cry,
> The sense of tears in mortal things.

Perhaps we cannot do better than close this imperfect account of Walther with the appreciative and sympathetic words of his own countryman, the eminent German critic Scherer. He says:

Germany has no lyric poet before Goethe who can be compared with Walther, and among the mediæval lyric poets of other countries he yields the palm to none. The lyric poetry of the Middle Ages has been chiefly represented to later times by Petrarch. Petrarch was the successor of the troubadours, and the authority which they had formerly enjoyed passed over, in the opinion of the Renaissance, to this scholar-poet. Yet Walther deserved, much more than Petrarch, to exercise his influence on posterity, and continue to live in future ages. How great is Walther's variety, compared with the monotony of Petrarch! Petrarch collects the richest ornaments from mythology, from antique and mediæval love-poetry, and fits them carefully together, like mosaic, to form new pictures; but his conceits quickly pall upon us. Walther, on the contrary, is almost as simple in his manner as the Middle High-German popular epics; he only adorns his poetry with that which nature offers in all times and places—bright blossoms and green branches, things which never grow old. And the best thing which he gives us is himself—a man such as one would desire for a friend, transparently sincere in his whole character, a gentle, serious, and strong soul, with a bright, lovable manner, rejoicing with them that rejoice, weeping with them that weep, inclined from childhood to be hopeful, unwavering in his lofty aspirations, fresh and cheerful even in want, thankful in happiness, gloomy only in his old age, and this with some cause, for the spring and summer of the *Minnesang* were past, and Walther felt the coming autumn.

Edwin W. Bowen.

Art. VII.—THE MILLENNIUM IS AN EVOLUTION.

The word "millennium" is a theological, rather than a biblical, term. It means "a thousand years," and stands for the doctrine that at Christ's second coming he will introduce his kingdom and reign personally and corporeally on this earth a thousand years between the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked. It is eminently a Jewish doctrine. It is the idea that the Jews entertained in the time of Christ and earlier; and because our Saviour did not favor the idea nor contribute to its success, but rather talked continually about his kingdom being a spiritual kingdom—a kingdom that "cometh not with observation," a kingdom "within you"—he was constantly misunderstood, rejected, and finally crucified. Such a kingdom as those Jews sought, and as some devout Christians are still looking for, would certainly be a creation, and not an evolution. If the millennial kingdom shall have in it any elements or qualities which are not now present and active on the earth, then it will be a creation; if all of its essential elements are now here and actively employed in the regeneration of the human race, then all the millennium which this world shall ever see will be an evolution.

Some of the Gnostics and Jewish Christians began to proclaim the millennium in the first century—among them Cerinthus, Barnabas, Hermas, and Papias; but there is no trace of this millennial idea in their able contemporaries, Ignatius, Polycarp, or Clement of Rome. Nor did the doctrine really flourish until the great Roman persecutions began. When the persecuted Christians began to despair of conquering this world they very naturally longed for the great Head of the Church to appear and take vengeance upon those who hated and murdered them. They very reasonably expected that if he was to have his kingdom established in this world he must come speedily, mount his Messianic throne, and vindicate his suffering people. So we find, as Dr. Shedd says in his *History of Christian Doctrines*, that the "blooming age" of millennialism was from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century; that the millennial doctrines flourished

mightily for about one hundred years and counted such great names in their support as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr. But this doctrine was stoutly opposed by Clement of Alexandria and by Origen. And when it was seen that Christ's kingdom was winning its way and was steadily conquering heathenism, as those men declared it would do, the doctrine of the millennium lost its hold upon the faith of the Church, has never since been the general faith of Christendom, and never will be.

The Old Testament prophecies which are constantly pressed into the service of this millennial idea are as constantly quoted by Christ and the apostles as applying to the Gospel era; and they have been understood by most Christian scholars as figurative representations of the establishment, spread, and evolution of Christ's kingdom on earth. This is the last dispensation; there is to be no other. "The kingdom shall not be left to other people" (Dan. ii, 44). "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising," is being fulfilled every day. These are the "last days." So Joel understood them (Joel ii, 28); so Peter understood them (Acts ii, 17); so Paul understood them. For in 2 Tim. iii, 1–5, he describes the "last days," and then exhorts Timothy, "From such turn away;" so it must be he thought Timothy was living in the "last days." And that is also John's understanding of the "last days," the last dispensation (1 John ii, 18). This understanding of the "last days" is also in exact harmony with Christ's declaration concerning them (Matt. xxiv, 14).

Christ will certainly come again in person to this world, to judge the world, and to close the volume of human history. His second coming will not be to "set up" a kingdom, but to "deliver up" a kingdom, as Paul declares in 1 Cor. xv, 23, 24 (Revised Version): "Then they that are Christ's, at his coming. Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God." When his Gospel should be preached in all the world, "for a witness unto all nations," then, Jesus said, "shall the end come." Now, if this world's history is to reach its climax with a millennial reign of a thousand years, then this language of our Lord certainly should be revised to read,

"then shall the beginning come;" and so also should Paul, just quoted, be revised. The doctrine of the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matt. xiii) is exactly in harmony with this. The Lord shall send forth at the harvest, which is the "end of the world," his reapers to gather "out of his kingdom"—not out of the world for his kingdom, as millennialists would have us understand—the whole story turning upon the fact that his kingdom is now here, and that in it the wheat and tares are now growing, and that at his second coming he will separate them, judge the world, and open the gates into the eternal kingdom of his Father, where the righteous shall shine forth as the sun. Christ gave us fifty parables, but never once so much as hinted that he was ever to reign on this earth a thousand years. Indeed, he can never reign anywhere in any other sense than he now reigns in the hearts of those who love him. In that sense he is now reigning, and will never reign anywhere in any other sense. "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." One passage only (Rev. xx, 1–8) has constantly been tortured into the service of this millennial idea. And this has been done in constant and plain violation of a divinely inspired canon of interpretation (Rom. xii, 6; 2 Peter i, 20) which forbids us so to interpret single passages of Scripture as to make them stand out against the uniform declarations of the word of God, and in violation also of another equally important canon of interpretation, that "the figurative must always be interpreted by the literal," thus making one high-wrought and figurative passage control a hundred plain and literal declarations to the contrary.

In order to make this famous passage in Rev. xx teach a literal millennium its advocates always insist on interpreting it literally. Then straightway they proceed to put into it what is not there, namely, a coming of Christ. This they do under the figure of the "angel" which came down from heaven with a great chain in his hand. Now, if the passage is literal, then the angel is a literal angel, and if an angel he is not Christ; so there is no coming of Christ at all in the passage. And if the angel is figurative who shall say but the whole passage is figurative, this being exactly what most Christian scholars have done; and if the whole passage is figurative it does not even

teach a millennium at all. There is a good deal in this Book of Revelation that it is difficult to explain. A thousand explanations have been offered. A thousand commentators have written learnedly upon this mysterious portion of Scripture, and ten thousand have tried to explain this twentieth chapter. No one has yet fully succeeded. Most of the prophecies of the Bible have been understood only when they were fulfilled, and so we think it will be with this mysterious book. To read a literal millennium into this twentieth chapter explains nothing, but involves more difficulties than it overcomes.

There is a radical difference concerning the nature of the kingdom between the Premillennialists, or Creationists, and the Postmillennialists, or Evolutionists. The former insist always that it is a real, literal kingdom to be established in this world, under the personal, corporeal reign of Jesus Christ, and that it is to continue one thousand years. There is much variety of opinion among them, but they all substantially agree in the real, literal, and earthly character of the kingdom; that it will have its definite territory, its capital, its throne, its king, its camps, and its armies. Of course it will in some sense differ from all earthly kingdoms, but they all insist that it will have its definite boundaries, both in time and space; that it will be literal, physical, material, corporeal, and all that in spite of the solemn declaration of Jesus that his kingdom "is not of this world," that it "cometh not with observation," and that it is "within you." The Postmillennialists, or Evolutionists, do not share these earthly, material, and semipolitical views of the kingdom at all. They believe that the kingdom of God is a real kingdom; that it is as old as eternity; that it is as vast as the universe of God; that its capital is heaven; that its king is God Almighty; that God the Son and the Holy Ghost are associated with the Father in upholding its authority; that its subjects are all the intelligent beings in the universe who believe, love, and obey God. The kingdom is one, and not one kingdom for each planet. It is the moral, spiritual, and eternal system of the universe. It is not to be established anywhere for a thousand years. It is coextensive with the creation; it began in the dawn of eternity, and will endure as long as God sits on the throne of heaven. Christ's

first visit to this world was to reinstate the kingdom of God over a rebellious province; his second visit will be to finish the work, judge the world, and surrender his commission up to God, "that God may be all in all." There are many glowing promises in the Bible of a better and brighter day that is coming; there are also many solemn declarations that throw dark shadows on the glowing picture. Both are true, and between them both lies that future for this world which will be better than anything yet seen. Sin and depravity will continue to do their deadly work upon the bodies and souls of men till the end of the world, and the time will probably never come when there will be no enemies of God among men. But we may expect that the time will come when every nation shall hear the Gospel of the Son of God; when every person shall have the free opportunity of accepting that Gospel; when the proportion of those who accept will far exceed anything which this world has yet seen; when truth, righteousness, and civilization shall so far gain the ascendant in this world that there shall be nothing to "hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord." That is the millennium. Not one year, nor a hundred, nor a thousand, but the proclamation of God's will over the earth and the reign of righteousness in harmony with that will. That is the millennium, both of Scriptures and common sense, and it is the only millennium that this world will ever see.

There are several serious objections to the premillennial view:

1. Looking for the establishment of a divine kingdom on earth, it is forever denying that the kingdom of heaven is already established here. John the Baptist, Christ, the twelve, and the seventy all proclaimed that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" since their preaching no one has ever made such a proclamation. "There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. xvi, 28; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 27; Matt. x, 23). The apostles after the day of Pentecost never preached that the kingdom was at hand, but went everywhere "preaching the kingdom of God" (Acts xx, 25; xxviii, 23, 31).

2. In order to strengthen the denial that Christ's kingdom

is now established on earth the premillennial view finds it necessary to make it appear that the world is growing worse and worse; hence all believers in the millennium are forever harping upon that one string. They can rarely see anything good on earth, and are generally unwilling to admit that the human race has made any progress toward righteousness and truth; preaching for the most part is worldly and valueless, and civilization is a failure. Macaulay says, "Those who compare the age on which their lot is fallen with a golden age which exists only in their imagination may talk of degeneracy and decay; but no man who is correctly informed as to the past will take a morose or desponding view of the present."

3. Those who adopt this premillennial view generally deny that the Gospel was ever intended to save the world. To them God does not expect nor desire any such result. In support of this remarkable position we quote Canon Ryle: "I believe that the world will never be converted completely to Christianity, by any existing agency, before the end comes. I believe that the grand purpose of the present dispensation is to gather out of the world an elect people, and not to convert all mankind. . . . I believe, finally, that it is for the safety, happiness, and comfort of all true Christians to expect as little as possible from churches and governments under the present dispensation, and to expect their good things only from the second advent." How little all this sounds like the terms of the great commission, or like the preaching of Paul! In his lectures before the Yale Divinity School Bishop Simpson said:

> When the Gospel under the preaching of the true Christian preachers shall have filled the whole earth, then indeed there will be a new heaven and a new earth. Until that time comes we must preach on. Nor must we be delivered from our work by any suggestions that society cannot be reformed or that the Lord Jesus will come visibly to cut off the wicked and to reign a temporal king. I have respect for the good men who teach this doctrine, but none for the doctrine itself. Analyzed, it shows a lack of faith in God's word; a spirit of indolence that is unwilling to face calmly and patiently the thought of long ages of toil and sacrifice; a spirit of vengeance that calls for fire to come down from heaven. They think it easier to kill men than to convert them.

4. This millennial doctrine encounters a very serious astronomical difficulty. The great Lick telescope brings to view

one hundred million stars, and the stellar photography now being prosecuted will easily multiply that number by five. Every star is a sun, the center of a system like our own—five hundred millions of suns and solar systems, each with its retinue of habitable worlds! In the midst of such a stupendous universe as this it is well-nigh unthinkable that Jesus Christ, the second person of the Trinity, would come down and establish a temporal throne on this earth which is but a grain of sand in the universe, and reign here for a thousand years—an earthly and semipolitical prince—over a little handful of the righteous at most, when no conceivable purpose could possibly be accomplished by such a performance. Let the student of the Scripture believe it who will; the Christ whom we serve is a being of more august majesty and divinity than such a little theory provides for.

5. Finally, this premillennial theory encounters a serious mathematical difficulty. No one can tell us the exact number of people who have been born into this world; but if the human family had doubled in number each century since Adam—which seems a very conservative estimate—the present population of the world would be two and one third quintillions of people. This would cover the land surface of the earth as thick with people as they could stand, four thousand deep. If they were each five feet high they would reach up into the air nearly four miles. Now, if only one in four thousand were allowed to enter the millennial kingdom the earth would be still covered with people crowded so thick that they could not sit down.

E. L. Eaton.

Art. VIII.—THE THEISTIC VALUE OF BOWNE'S IDEALISM.

The term "idealism" is here applied to Bowne's philosophical system with some hesitancy. Professor Bowne, appreciating the misunderstanding and prejudice associated with that word, deprecates its use. Idealism is, however, the time-honored antithesis of realism, and it is certainly as little liable to mislead as the term "phenomenalism"* which Bowne at one time proposed. The qualifying word used guards us against any form of idealism except that which is championed by Bowne. This is also the term used by himself almost constantly.

The rapid advance of physical science in recent times has doubtless revolutionized popular thinking, and has as certainly reacted upon philosophic thought. The various arguments formerly used to prove the existence of God have been reviewed from the standpoint of advanced physical science. Mental phenomena are correlated with brain phenomena, and pyschology threatens to become a branch of physiology. If that result can be reached the human mind will cease to exist, and we shall have "psychology without a soul." Failing to prove the reality of the finite mind, we should be deprived of that approach, by analogy or otherwise, to the infinite mind. Darwin's "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" seem to account, by blind law, for results which had been supposed to prove design. The nebular hypothesis performs a similar office in another physical realm. If so in these cases, why not in all? Jevons† admits the force of this argument, and believes that evolution and natural selection are "two of the most probable hypotheses ever proposed." But he adds:

> No doubt, the circumstances being what they were, man could not be otherwise than he is, and if in any part of the universe an exactly similar earth, furnished with exactly similar germs of life, existed, a race must have grown up exactly similar to the human race. By a different distribution of atoms in the primeval world a different series of living forms on this earth would have been produced. . . . The precise reason why we have a backbone, two hands with opposable

* *Metaphysics*, p. 466. † *Principles of Science*, second ed., p. 762.

thumbs, an erect stature, a complex brain, about two hundred and twenty-three bones, and many other peculiarities, is only to be found in the original act of creation.

Is the design argument thus driven to base its all upon the original impulse? But suppose we are able to account for the original impulse without God? From the standpoint of Jevons it becomes absolutely necessary to find evidence of a beginning. This he attempts in the first edition of his great work. Professor W. K. Clifford replies to the argument, holding that there is no assignable beginning. Of the bodies of the universe he says:

> What they have actually done is to fall together and get solid. If we should reverse the process we should see them separating and getting cool, and, as a limit to that, we should find that all these bodies would be resolved into molecules, and all these would be flying away from each other. There would be no limit to that process, and we could trace it as far back as ever we liked to trace it.*

If there were no limit to that process there would be no necessary limit to the process of which it is the reverse, and molecules may have fallen from eternity through infinite space and have come into finite spatial relations at our point of time. Only a scholastic argument of doubtful validity—there cannot be a "this end" without a "that end"—stands in the way of such a supposition. Jevons himself confesses, "So far as I may venture to form an independent opinion on the subject, it is to the effect that Professor Clifford is right, and that the known laws of science do not enable us to assign a 'beginning.' Science leads us backward into an infinite past duration." We cannot well place a first cause beyond an "infinite past duration."

The different species of natural science, formerly attributed to special acts of creation, are found to so interlace that the doctrine of special creations seems doubtful. At the margin plant life and animal life are so similar that no clear line of demarkation can be drawn. May not chemical force become vital force, and so bridge the chasm between the organic and inorganic? If the experiments are not yet satisfactory may we not hope for better results in the future? Finally,

* *Principles of Science*, second ed., Preface, page xxx.

who shall say that mechanical force never becomes chemical force? Mechanical force in the luminiferous ether is followed by a chemical change in the visual substance of the retina, this by vital movement in the optic nerve, and this by the mental phenomenon called seeing. Is not the course here taken a true representation of the relation of the forces—mechanical, chemical, vital, and mental? Professor Clifford's theory provides—by conditions which had no beginning, and which therefore demand no cause—for an unlimited mechanical force, and this, according to the suggestion just made, provides for all the higher forces. These with the molecules, provided also by Professor Clifford's theory, explain all that is.

Probably no thoroughgoing theist is appalled at any one of the arguments here given, or at all of them combined. Whatever his metaphysical standpoint, he is ready with an answer. None the less, he must concede that they have produced a profound impression upon the thinking of our day. He must concede, also, that the trend of thought is toward a belief in the universal correlation of forces and the continuity of physical phenomena. This trend is in harmony with the mind's demand for unity among its phenomena; and, as a result of this law of mind and trend of thought, the materialistic arguments adduced are strengthened by the feeling that there is a reserve force back of them.

How shall these arguments be met? Shall we continue the battle on the old line? We have argued that life is always from antecedent life, that natural laws have never been known to produce a new species, that a definite "distribution of atoms in the primeval world" was essential to the production of the universe, etc. Shall we now plant our batteries in defense of these critical positions and allow the belief in theism to stand or fall with the results? The heat developed in the discussion of some of these points seems to indicate that the disputants consider them vital. But are they? If some future experiment should demonstrate the possibility of producing life by chemical action would theism be less tenable?

Because of considerations similar to these here presented President Le Conte, in an article on "Man's Place in Nature," says:

> The forces of nature I regard as an effluence from the divine person, an ever-present and all-pervading divine energy. The laws of nature are naught else but the regular modes of operation of that energy, universal because he is omnipresent, invariable because he is unchanging. The phenomena of nature are the acts of Deity, perhaps not in the most direct personal sense, but in a sense far more direct than even Christians in these modern times are accustomed to think. . . . God pervading nature, and yet not identified with nature, this Christian pantheism is the only true philosophic view. Under the influence of physical and mechanical philosophy we have been too much accustomed to regard nature as a complex mechanism, made and wound up in the beginning, and then left to work out its own results by means of forces within itself. This view is wholly untenable. Either nature is self-sufficient and needs no Creator, or else God is ever present and ever working in nature. No intermediate view is philosophically possible.*

Whether so intended or not, Bowne's idealism is the philosophical response to the practical demand. It is an exhibition of the metaphysical foundation on which Le Conte's view of God and nature must rest. It is best understood, perhaps, by considering first his conception of being. We posit being to explain our conscious experience. It can explain our experience only as it assists in its production. It must do something. Being which does nothing, which fails to affect us, could not be known to us. Either being is active or there is no occasion to believe in being at all. The material world is known to us only by some effect which it produces on us. In no other way can we become aware of its existence. Atoms are supposed, in popular thought, to be elemental substances, composed of minute portions of "stuff" manifesting certain forces. They are known, however, entirely by the forces manifested. The "stuff," if it exists, fails to reveal itself. The forces explain all that is demanded of the atom and all that is known of it. If there is any pure being or "stuff" in the atom it must be there to account for the forces. How pure being "without definite power, quality, or relation"—the substance common to all atoms and alike in all—can account for any force, to say nothing about the widely different forces of the different kinds of atoms, is not apparent. Still, we are assured that the "being" is necessary as a basis in which the forces may "inhere." Precisely what is meant by

* *Princeton Review*, November, 1878, p. 794.

the inherence of a force in something which does not exercise the force is not plain. In any case we must go beyond the being for an explanation of the forces, and when they are accounted for there is no further demand for "inherence."

For Bowne, "the distinctive mark of being consists in some power of action." "However thick the mental fog may be, it must still be plain that only the active will explain action. Hence, causality is the distinguishing mark of being, and by being we mean cause." We quote the summary of his argument on the notion of being:

> The notion of being is, in itself, purely formal, and its content needs to be determined. The notion of pure being is rejected, (1) as being only a logical concept, and, as such, incapable of real existence; and, (2) as inadequate to the functions it has to perform. There is no progress from it to definite being, and there is no regress from definite being to it. The notion of passive or inactive being is also rejected as a whim of the imagination, which founds nothing, and falls back into the notion of pure being. Hence, all reality must be causal. But, in the popular thought, reality itself is divided into two factors, being and power. This distinction is only a logical one, and cannot be admitted in reality without falling back into the doctrine of pure being. Again, in the popular thought a thing exists by virtue of a certain core of reality which is in it, and which supports the activities and attributes of the thing. We reject this core as a product of sense-bondage and as accounting for nothing, if allowed. We reverse this popular view by rejecting the notion of a stuff which simply exists, and furnishes things with the necessary reality. For us things do not exist because of a quantity of this reality which is in them, but by virtue of their activity, whereby they appear as agents in the system. How this can be is a question which involves the mystery of creation or the mystery of absolute being; but creation is not the work of the philosopher. The question we have to answer is, What things shall we regard as existing? And the answer is, Those things exist which act, and not those which have a lump of being in them; for there is no fact corresponding to the latter phrase. Things do not have being, but are; and from them the notion of being is formed. These agents, again, have in them no antithesis of passive being and active energy, but are active through and through. Sense associations and our own feelings of weariness render it difficult to conceive of active being without a central core of inert solidity on which the productive activity may rest. But we may free ourselves from this result of habit by persistently asking, (1) What reason is there for positing such a core, and, (2) what it could do if posited.*

* *Metaphysics*, pp. 55, 56.

Thus far we only know that being is activity, and an atom is an elementary form of activity. Of what it is the activity we do not yet know. Of this much we are assured, it must be the activity of something; for an activity without something which acts is a combination of words to which no thought corresponds. Bowne reaches a conclusion on this point by a discussion of the problem of interaction. Physical science reveals to us a world of related things in constant activity. Every part of the world system, in order to be a part of that system, must be in a relation to the other parts of the system; and these relations are found to be dynamic. Each thing produces an effect upon others and is affected by them. We quote:

> How is interaction between two or more things, conceived as independent, possible? . . . The interaction must be declared impossible so long as the things are viewed as independent. By definition, the independent must contain the ground of all its determinations in itself, and, by analysis, that which is subject to the necessity of interaction must have the grounds of its determinations in others as well as in itself. The two conceptions will not combine; . . . and, since interaction must be affirmed, the only way out is to deny the independence of the plurality and reduce it to a constant dependence, in some way, upon one all-embracing being, which is the unity of the many, and in whose unity an interacting plurality first becomes possible. An interacting many cannot exist without a coordinating one. The interaction of our thoughts, and other mental states, is possible only through the unity of the mental subject which brings all its states together in the unity of one consciousness. So the interactions of the universe are possible only through the unity of a basal reality, which brings them together in its one immanent omnipresence. And this we affirm, not at all because of the mystery of interaction between independent things, but because of its contradiction. . . . When two mathematical quantities are found to vary together one must be made a function of the other, or both must be made a function of a third quantity common to each. When a series of things vary together it is equally impossible to regard them as absolute units. Some one thing must be independent, and all the rest must be, in some sense, functions of that one. As interacting, a state of each must imply a certain state of all; and this is impossible so long as there is not some being common to all. . . . Finite being has no existence or individuality in itself, but is only a mode or phenomenon of some one being which alone truly is. In our thoughts these modes assume the appearance of individual things in interaction; but, in fact, there is nothing but the one true being and its modes. . . . There is no certain test of finite individuality

except personality. Apart from this, all finite being must be viewed as simply a mode of the basal one, and without any proper existence. As dependent, all its external activities are really activities of the one; and, as impersonal, it is without subjectivity. There is nothing left but to regard it as a form of energizing on the part of the one. . . . This being, as fundamental, we call the infinite, the absolute, and the independent.*

From this standpoint we conclude that an atom is an elementary form of the activity of the infinite. To ascertain whether this action, and therefore all interaction, takes place "with free intelligence or with blind necessity" our author discusses at length the "nature of the infinite." His conclusion is briefly summed up in these words:

Without allowing the reality of freedom there can be no trust in either reason or science. If the basal power be automatic, reason is overthrown; and if we are automatic, reason is also overthrown. In considering the possibility of rational knowledge two points have been considered, (1) the nature of the fundamental being, and (2) the nature of the finite Knower. Our conclusion is that we must view both as free and intelligent. . . . Our claim is that they [reason and knowledge] are possible only on the basis of theism and freedom.†

We may now complete our definition of an atom as an elementary form of the activity of God. And this must be God's relation to the fundamental physical unit, whether called an atom or something else.

As the distinctive mark of being consists in some power of action, and matter lacks that power, it is declared to be without being—that is, without substantial existence—and purely phenomenal. Is this also true of the human mind?

Of the finite two conceptions are logically possible. We may view it merely as a form of energizing on the part of the infinite, so that it has a purely phenomenal existence; or we may view it as a substantial creation by the infinite. . . . The decision between these two views . . . can be reached only by studying the nature of the finite. If any finite thing can be found which is capable of acting from itself it has in that fact the only possible test of reality as distinguished from phenomenality. But this possibility can be found only in conscious agents. Only in selfhood do we find any proper activity and individuality in the finite. . . . We must say, then, that only selfhood suffices to mark off the finite from the infinite, and that only the finite spirit attains to substantial otherness to the infinite.‡

* *Metaphysics*, pp. 125-131. † *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Here, then, are the three factors in this world-view: the Infinite, who energizes under the forms of times and spaces; the system of energizing known as the universe; finite spirits. Both the infinite Spirit and the finite spirit are free persons and in the true sense substances. The finite spirit is created substance; the infinite is uncreated. "The world is not only a divine thought, but also a divine act." All activity of the infinite is the activity of free intelligence. Divine reason and divine will are both expressed in all natural phenomena. "The continuity of the system expresses simply the constancy of the divine action. The uniformity of the system expresses the steadiness of the divine purpose." * While this view goes beneath physical science for the basal reality it leaves the atom and its laws—in short, all the principles of physical science—undisturbed. Viewed from the standpoint of finite mind, the world is as real, tangible, and objective as the most ardent realist could desire. No one who understands the theory will ever ask a follower of Bowne to bump his head against a post to be convinced that matter is substantial. This is not subjective idealism, much less absolute idealism, but objective idealism.

The bearing of Bowne's idealism upon the atheistic argument drawn from physical science is evident. To Le Conte's alternatives, "either nature is self-sufficient and needs no creator, or else God is ever present and ever working in nature," it replies emphatically that God is ever present and ever working in nature. It shows that the laws of nature with which Darwin is supposed to have weakened the design argument are themselves expressions of a divine purpose, and that the works done in harmony with these laws are the operations of the immanent One. It shows that if Professor Clifford's molecules were what the materialist conceives them to be their falling together would accomplish nothing, for no one of them could ever have produced any effect whatever on any other molecule. No world could have resulted. Instead of anxiety lest chemical force should produce vital force it gives us the assurance that both, alike and equally, are activities of the infinite free Intelligence. It finds God not merely in the sup-

* *Metaphysics*, p. 460.

posed breaks in the natural world, but in its regular ongoing; and the doctrines of the correlation of forces and of the continuity of physical phenomena may both be established without the slightest inconvenience to theism. In short, it completely removes all semblance of force from the arguments against theism which have been drawn from modern physical science. It takes from the scientific materialist the implicit metaphysics on which his argument is built and leaves him uninjured indeed in the field of physical science, but without the standing in the field of religious thought to which he had laid claim. From the view-point of the theist this is the most immediate and obvious result of the adoption of Bowne's idealism. Its full value, however, will depend, in part, upon its relation to other theistic arguments. That subject must therefore take our attention.

Ladd's *Physiological Psychology*, a dispassionate and rigorously scientific discussion of the relations between the nervous system and mental phenomena, is not directly a theistic argument, but its bearing upon the grounds for belief in God is clearly perceived by all concerned. While not a complete proof of theism, its conclusion is an essential feature in any adequate belief in God. He states his conclusion in these words: "The mind is a 'real' being in the highest sense in which any finite being can be real. Indeed, its claim to be real is more indisputable than the same claim as put forth for any material thing—it is unique."* This conclusion concerning the finite mind, its relation to the infinite and to matter, is in striking accord with Bowne. Professor T. H. Green, of the University of Oxford, in his *Prolegomena of Ethics* discusses the "spiritual principle in knowledge," reaching a conclusion concerning the human mind in perfect harmony with that already quoted from the Yale professor. He then, with great candor and philosophic insight, discusses "the spiritual principle in nature." His conclusion is:

> Nature implies something other than itself as the condition of its being what it is. Of that something else we are entitled to say positively that it is a self-distinguishing consciousness, because the function which it must fulfill in order to render the relations of phenomena, and with them

* P. 668.

nature, possible is one which, on however limited a scale, we ourselves exercise in the acquisition of experience, and exercise only by means of such a consciousness. . . . The relations of events to each other as in time implies their equal presence to a subject which is not in time. There could be no such thing as time if there was not a self-consciousness which is not in time. As little could there be a relation of objects as outside each other, or in space, if they were not equally related to a subject which they are not outside—a subject of which outsideness to anything is not a possible attribute, which by its synthetic action constitutes that relation but is not itself determined by it. The same is true of those relations which we are apt to treat as independent entities, under the names "matter" and "motion." They are relations existing for a consciousness which they do not so condition that it should itself either move or be material. . . . The substance is the implication of the changes, and has no existence otherwise. Apart from the changes no substance, any more than apart from the effects a cause.*

It will be observed that where Bowne would say "action" Green says "change;" but as the change is the result of activity, and both change and action proceed from the same cause, the difference in meaning is slight. With this change in terminology the language of the Oxford philosopher concerning substance, motion, and matter is almost identical with the language of the Boston philosopher. Having pointed out objections to certain forms of idealism, Green adds, "But the idealism which interprets facts as relations, and can only understand relations as constituted by a single spiritual principle, is chargeable with no such outrage on common sense."† These views, though not in complete harmony with Bowne, are in the main so strongly corroborative that we may justly claim this great thinker for the general position.

The treatise by Professor Harris, of Yale, entitled *The Philosophic Basis of Theism*, has become a standard work. His argument rests on the true theory of knowledge. His answer to the question, Can we know the material world? is given in these words:

Theism gives also rational ground for the reality of knowledge. For theism affirms that God is the Absolute Reason, and the universe is the expression of the truths, laws, and ideals of Absolute Reason, and the progressive realization of the ends which reason approves as worthy. The constitution of the universe, therefore, expresses the archetypal

*P. 54. †P. 39.

principles of Absolute Reason. Theism also teaches that man is in the image of God; his reason, then, however limited, is the same in kind with the Absolute Reason; and reason, whether in God or man, is everywhere and always the same. Thus theism gives a rational ground for the reality of human knowledge.*

This is fundamental in Harris. He declares yet more forcibly in the "Preface:"

And we shall reach the conclusion that the reality of scientific knowledge depends ultimately upon the reality of the existence of God as the Absolute Reason energizing in the universe; and the primary ground of all that is that the knowledge of God is not merely a questionable belief to be remanded to the feelings and the imagination, because it cannot be vindicated to the reason; but that the existence of reason, universal, unconditioned, and supreme, the same everywhere and always, never in contradiction to the ultimate principles regulative of all human thought, the ultimate ground of the universe and ever energizing in it, is essential to all scientific knowledge, the keystone of the arch of all rational thought; and that ultimately the question with the atheist is not whether man can know God, but whether he can know anything rationally and scientifically.†

This is in exact accord with Bowne's position, already quoted, that theism is the basis of trust in either reason or science. That Bowne's idealism, which makes the world God's act expressing God's thought—all phenomena being continuous evidence of God's continuous rational activity—is in complete harmony with this basal argument of theism cannot be doubted. Indeed, by using the expressions, "absolute reason energizing in the universe" and "reason ever energizing in it," Harris seems to indicate that continuous divine action, not provided for by ordinary theism, is of consequence to his argument.

The argument from the appearances of design in nature is manifestly in harmony with a theory which makes all nature an expression of divine purpose. Janet, the author of the classic on the subject,‡ admits that mechanical laws explain the production of crystalline forms of minerals from crystalline molecules of the same structure, but adds that these laws themselves indicate "some reason or motive," that the peculiar forms of the molecule indicate something "rational," and that even in the "architecture of the atoms" the same principle is discovered. Objective idealism is certainly the ideal basis for

* P. 16. † P. 9. ‡ *Final Causes*, p. 189, *et seq.*

that argument. The argument that force cannot come from the forceless, and therefore that there must be a world power, is valid under the philosophical system here defended. It may, perhaps, be in harmony with the notion that the Creator committed all power to the original atoms. But all analogies to explain the ongoing of the world on this basis, like the wound-up watch or clock, involve the operation of a continuous force—gravitation, the elasticity of the spring, or something of that kind—without which there would be no movement, and consequently no explanation. Moreover, this theory goes to wreck on the problem of interaction. The argument for a first cause is neither weakened nor strengthened by this theory, but the necessity for the argument is obviated.

We are now ready to sum up the theistic value of our theory of idealism under four heads: First, it furnishes a consistent theistic conception of the universe. If true, theism is secure. Second, it completely disarms scientific materialism. Third, it accords with all the great arguments essential to theism and greatly strengthens some of them. Fourth, while it does not entirely solve the old controversy between monism and dualism, it is a vast improvement on the "preestablished harmony" of Leibnitz, the Cartesian "occasionalism," or the pantheism of Spinoza; and it is a more tangible expression of what, perhaps, Malebranche meant, in part, by his conception that we see all things in the vision of God.

This discussion would be incomplete without some reference to the objections which have been urged against the theory by those who think it dangerous to theism. These adverse criticisms, so far as they have come under our observation, are: First, it makes God responsible for evil. Second, it denies the creation. Third, it is pantheism. Fourth, it contradicts the Bible doctrine of God's relation to the world. (1) When an Italian uses his stiletto on a human being, if the action of the steel in cutting is but the act of the "basal one," then God assists in committing the murder and is responsible for it. This argument is hardly philosophical, but it has been urged. Unless chance and chaos are to rule there must be a fixity in the operations of nature. The knife cuts because it expresses God's original purpose. The theory here discussed holds that God

executes his purpose. The old theory is that God committed its execution to material elements. The result is the same under both theories. If there is moral responsibility in the work of the knife it must be the same in either case. If we attempt to attach the responsibility to the material elements we fail, for they cannot be morally responsible. As nothing is involved but God and the material elements which he made, the responsibility must then rest upon him. By one theory he might have prevented the result by preventing the steel from cutting, which would have been a miracle. By the other he might have prevented it by changing his purpose, which would also have been a miracle. The old theory, in the case supposed, has an advantage for the imagination, that is all. Neither theory throws any light on the problem of evil. H. H. Moore says, in criticising Bowne:

> If I pervert the use of my hand by thrusting it into the stove and burning it to a crisp I must suffer the consequences. This has seemed to me just, . . . but idealism sweeps it all away. . . . If the one "fundamental reality" is the cause of all things, then every thought and purpose and act of this universe is in the iron grip of fate, and there can be no place for a moral act.*

As Bowne continually teaches that the finite spirit is a substance, and bases that view on the self-activity of the finite spirit, Dr. Moore's statements can be accounted for only on the supposition that he had not read the work which he undertook to criticise. One quotation from Bowne will make this matter clear: "If any finite thing can be found which is capable of acting from itself it has in that fact the only possible test of reality as distinguished from phenomenality. But this possibility can be found only in conscious agents. Only in selfhood do we find any proper activity and individuality in the finite."† Bowne provides a complete basis for freedom and, therefore, responsibility.

(2) The contention that objective idealism cancels a belief in creation is based on a preconceived notion of creation. As Bowne believes that the finite spirit is a substance and "must be viewed as created," this objection can be plausibly urged only against the physical world. The controversy here is

* *Methodist Review*, 1890, p. 565. † *Metaphysics*, p. 137.

largely a matter of words. If to create means to posit a substance which before was not—meaning by substance an amount of stuff endowed with certain powers and capable of continuing its existence and the exercise of those powers—then Bowne does not teach the creation of a material universe. If to create means merely to produce the physical universe without reference to metaphysical notions of being, then Bowne is in harmony with the doctrine that God created the heavens and the earth. God's creating activity, in the physical realm, would differ from his sustaining activity only in being its beginning. The physical world with all its laws is provided for, and there is only a philological interest in knowing whether the word "creation" can apply to its beginning.

(3) President Le Conte in the quotation given calls for Christian pantheism, and we have said that Bowne's idealism is the answer. It certainly suggests pantheism. Our present concern is to know whether it is pantheistic in a sense that conflicts with theism. We must not be frightened at words. There is a pantheism that identifies the universe with God and a pantheism which identifies God with the universe. The latter is atheism, the former may be theistic. Of this form of pantheism McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia* says, "That form of pantheism which teaches the absorption of nature in God, of the finite in the infinite, amounts to an exaggeration of theism." If Bowne could be classed as a pantheist at all it would be as an adherent of that form of pantheism which "exaggerates theism." Again, there is a pantheism which holds that the all, struggling by blind necessity, comes to consciousness first in man; and there is a pantheism which holds that the all, intelligent and perhaps free, is the infinite being from whom all things emanate and to whom all things return. The former is atheism. The latter, if freedom be granted to the infinite, is strictly theistic. The proof of the charge of pantheism would not therefore prove that the theory which involves it is opposed to theism. Any system of thought which posits, as the cause of the universe, a personal God with free will and intelligence, independent of and superior to all things material, is theistic. This Bowne does. Pantheism is dangerous to theism only when it denies or makes doubtful the

personality of the infinite. This it does when it represents conscious intelligence as the outcome of the world-process, or when it denies to the original "one" either freedom or intelligence or both.

But Bowne is not a pantheist of any sort. Waterland, quoted in McClintock and Strong, says of pantheism, "It supposes God and nature, or God and the whole universe, to be one and the same substance and one universal being; insomuch that men's souls are only modifications of the divine substance." That definition is true of historic pantheism. It makes human souls, as well as material things, modifications of the one substance. The valid charge against pantheism in every form is not that it is false to God, but that it is false to man. It denies substantial existence or self-activity to the finite spirit. Man is thus reduced to the level of the impersonal finite. At this point, if not before, Bowne parts company with pantheism of every form. For him the finite spirit is self-acting and therefore substantial. "Only finite spirit attains to substantial otherness to the infinite." That sentence alone would acquit Bowne of pantheism, and it is his universal teaching. "Apart from this [finite spirit] there is nothing but the infinite and its manifold activities." If that statement seems to indicate a pantheistic conception of the physical world it must be remembered that the infinite of which Bowne speaks is a "free person," is a "personal and intelligent self-determiner," is "one and indivisible and forever equal to itself," and is "the basal cause of the universe." Nothing essential to theism is here surrendered. Bowne holds that God produced the physical universe known to man by his personal activity, and maintains it by his personal activity. Another view is that God produced the world by his own activity and then allowed it to take care of itself. Why the latter view should be considered more theistic than the former is a mystery. That God is the cause of the world is theism. That God is the cause of the world and its abiding condition is, it seems, not theism.

(4) McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia* holds that "the transcendental, and not the immanent thought of creation, is the keynote of Hebrew inspiration," and that the New Testament does not change this view. We are not sure that this

means to squarely contradict the idea that God pervades all nature so that the works of nature are the immediate works of God. That, however, seems to be the position taken, and it is certainly the only logical position for those who hold that God made the world, wound it up, set it in motion, and then withdrew from active interest in it. Many passages in the Bible speak of creation as a work done once for all. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" is the first of a long list of declarations of similar import. Numerous other passages indicate God's present activity in the world: he opens his "hands, they are filled with good;" "He maketh the sun to rise," and "sendeth rain;" "In him we live, and move, and have our being;" "By him all things consist." The two thoughts are brought together in Heb. i, 2, 3, "By whom also he made the worlds; . . . upholding all things by the word of his power."

Objective idealism provides for the creation as a definite act by declaring that the "finite will come and go, change and become" in accordance with the demands of the divine plan; while its very essence is that God upholds all things by his power. The theory that God made the physical elements, endowed them with definite forces and laws, and then left them to carry on all physical processes, harmonizes with the Scripture teaching concerning creation, but contradicts the Scripture doctrine that God upholds "all things by the word of his power." Bowne's idealism renders no meager service to theism when it frees us from the absentee God of deism and restores to us the immanent God of Christianity.

J. J. Bartholomew

Art. IX.—CHRISTIAN LOGIC.

The Christian thinker must be to some extent a logician. Conversion does not silence the demands of the reasoning faculty. In the discovery and establishment of religious truth formal argument according to accepted principles is necessary. Some suggestions regarding the methods of Christian logic are here submitted:

1. General names are signs representing many individuals. We have not met such a general object as man, who is somebody in general and nobody in particular. There are no general objects in nature, and inferences must not be drawn from them.

2. No one has found such an object as beauty, goodness, motion, or force. We have seen beautiful flowers, good men, and moving bodies. There are no abstract objects in nature, and inferences must not be drawn from them.

3. The name "nature" is indefinite, representing the few objects which we have observed and other objects, perhaps infinite in number, which we have not observed. We have not discovered nature; therefore we have not discovered an order or law of nature. Later we will consider the fact that we have discovered some of the laws of God, who governs nature.

4. If any objects in nature are causes they are not objects of observation and *data* for inference, for we have never seen power passing from one object to another. And, while a cause is defined as "an unconditional, invariable antecedent," we can never point to any particular cause, for we must have examined the universe to find that nothing exists by which it could be conditioned, and all past and future time to find that it has been and will be invariable. But, if we reason, we must reason from effect to cause, or from cause to effect. Therefore reasoning is impossible, except, perhaps, concerning an imaginary world.

5. Can we escape this difficulty by means of our intuitions? May we have an intuition of a law of nature? If our intuitions can see that unlimited aggregate of objects named "nature" they can see fewer objects and nearer at hand. But if

we shut our eyes and try to see by our intuitions we fall into the ditch. We are instructed to apply to our intuitions certain tests of truth, to make sure that they are what they profess to be. They must be universal, necessary, and self-evident, like the once universal, necessary, and self-evident notions that the sky is concave and the earth flat. And the other supreme test which has been proposed, namely, "the inconceivability of the negative of the given proposition," permits anything conceivable or imaginable to occur at any time and place.

6. Will the formula of induction help us out of our difficulty? *Datum*, The men whom we have observed are mortal; inference, Therefore all men are mortal. Can the men whom we have observed cause the mortality of all men? They would not if they could. And the central African's uniform experience that men are black did not prevent the existence of white men.

7. Turn to deduction for hope. Major premise, All men are mortal; minor premise, John is a man; conclusion, Therefore John is mortal. "All men are mortal" is the unwarranted inference in the preceding induction, and conclusions derived from it are equally worthless. If the major premise was obtained by observation the mortality of John was known before the deduction began. John's case must be examined before the mortality of all men can be asserted. This Godless kind of logic is self-destructive; and theology will be self-destructive when using it faithfully. Science advances by not using it, and by using an unwritten logic which, if written, would be recognized as Christian logic.

8. The first axioms are theological, and they are, the Supreme Cause is one, independent, immutable, all-powerful, wise, and benevolent. When the scientist reasons concerning objects he classifies them, and tries to classify the classes into a higher unity. The reasoning faculty is constructed so that it points upward to a highest, all-embracing unity; and it assumes that the Supreme Cause is not many and dissimilar objects, and is not dependent and changeable, because its effects could not be anticipated in any case, and what it has done would be no evidence of what it will do. The scientist at the beginning of his reasonings assumes that the Source of effects

in nature is wise, because he cannot think that an unwise object will always act in accordance with the demands of his intellectual faculties, when its acts originate within itself. He assumes that the Supreme Cause, to which he may apply various names, is benevolent and may be trusted with a saint-like, unquestioning faith to have kindly adjusted the laws of things to our laws of perception. Supreme power could and, if wicked, would deceive all our faculties with full assurance of faith. The scientist asserts the goodness of the Supreme One whom he may name "nature." But the English dictionary requires us to name such a being "God."

9. From assumptions nothing but assumptions can be derived. If God is nothing more to us than a convenient assumption reasoning, except from one unsupported assumption to another, is still impossible. How may we find him? Not at the end of an induction, for his being and essential attributes are assumed at the beginning of it.

10. Jesus claimed to have personal knowledge of the Father and of his own relation as Son. This knowledge was confessed in all his reasonings, and his inferences depended upon it. He would not consent to cast aside this primary knowledge and seek to find it by means of proofs. This was the main point of attack upon him, during his temptation in the wilderness. We also in a lower sense are the sons of God, and may have superrational knowledge of him. "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." Love is the organ of this vision (Matt. v, 23, 24; 44, 45). When the eye is evil the whole body will be filled with darkness. There is further knowledge of God which we obtain by moral surrender to the knowledge we already possess (John iii, 21). For this reason Jesus began to teach and say, "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Subjects of this heavenly kingdom have a vivid sense of God and his love, which is made dim and dull by impenitence. A ruling principle in the New Testament is, "He that loveth not, knoweth not God." In response to our moral self-surrender the Holy Spirit "beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." And we believe that some degree of this immediate knowledge of God is possessed by all men, and that God, whose existence and attributes

are implied and unavoidable assumptions in all their reasonings, is in some degree self-revealed to them.

Thus, Christian logic begins with the knowledge that we ought to repent. What knowledge can be clearer? When that knowledge is obeyed our knowledge of God becomes more vivid, and still more vivid and distinct when we become true disciples of Jesus, have received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and have accepted "the ministry of reconciliation" and "the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." We are saved from agnosticism in our inferences only when we are saved from it in our *data* and premises.

11. The following is an example of the scientific method: *Datum*, "Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field;" inference, "Shall he not much more clothe you?" This is reasoning from effects to effects, while looking to God as their cause. From what God is and has done we may obtain a reason for our expectation concerning what he will do. If he has caused the stone when unsupported to fall to the ground we may expect that he will do so. Thus induction becomes possible. And, if universal, necessary, and self-evident ideas concerning objects in nature in rare instances prove to be insufficient tests of truth, we may still use them if they are true in most instances, because probability must guide the Lord's common people in practical life; and scientists and philosophers are like unto them. They must consent that their tests of truth may permit exceptions and miracles when God wills.

12. The existence, wisdom, and benevolence of God are primary truths used in every induction. Here Christian theology begins, for as surely as reason is trustworthy so surely God is benevolent; and if God is benevolent the Christian miracles occurred, if the highest good of man required them. Thus we may find in their favor an antecedent probability, which will render their historical confirmation more than sufficient.

A. N. Craft

Art. X.—THE RENAISSANCE—AN INTRODUCTORY VIEW.

The Renaissance was the awakening of the intellectual life and creative genius of the Latin and Teutonic races. These races so long under the tutelage and discipline of the mediæval Church now came to the consciousness of a young and vigorous manhood. This manhood demanded intellectual liberty, the independence and development of the individual. It demanded the right to think, the right to feel, the right to enjoy as the heirlooms of the intellect, the privilege of genius. For the Renaissance, like all purely intellectual movements, was aristocratic, and only indirectly affected the life of the people. Unconsciousness belongs to youth, and only races in their youth could know the ignorance from which the Renaissance was the awakening. For the Greek Church and the Greek race there could be no such revival. The old races, their culture and civilization, had been swept away from Gaul and Spain, and from Italy itself. The tuition of the mediæval Church had trained the childhood of the new and barbarous races who were their successors. These races were rude and strong, and astonishing in the unsuspected capabilities of their manhood. Such an awakening comes but once to men and nations. The Renaissance revealed to men the past with its literature, art, and civilization, the enlarging bounds and significance of the world in which men dwelt, and beyond all the possibilities of the human spirit for expansion and training, for enjoyment and achievement, in this life. The story of the beginning and development of modern intellectual life and culture can never fail of the deepest interest to any who care to know how we became what we are.

What this awakening was to Europe and to human progress can be best understood by comparing mediæval with modern life. This comparison, chiefly by contrast, includes the whole sphere of human activity—the intellectual, political, economic, social, artistic, and religious life of men. Only as we grasp the immense significance of this contrast can we

understand the age of transition, the Renaissance. The ruling principle of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages was authority. God, to the mediæval Church and the men it trained, was the supreme authority. Hence, authority was the supreme ruling conception in all the life of the time. God to us is the primal and supreme reason, of which each of us has a part by virtue of the light which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Hence, we justify our opinions and base our action upon the reason of things. We shall learn in time that both views have their rights, and must be tempered by a recognition of the supreme love regnant in the universe. God is power, he is reason, he is also love. The races, the society, and the civilization which accept and act upon the whole truth possess the future, for they inherit the immutable promises based upon the nature of God and all he has made. The union of these attributes makes the life of God, and it makes the perfecting life of men. As authority ruled the intellectual life of the Middle Ages, so the accordant action was reverence, submission. From the modern conception the duty enforced is inquiry, investigation. They shut up Roger Bacon twelve years for searching into the secrets of nature. Into the lap of our scientific discoverers we pour our millions.

Authority ruled in all political and civil relations, and hence inequality was the law in every rank of life. Man had value only as he belonged to a caste, a class, a guild, or some corporate form of society. Each class had its own law and customs by which it was governed. In modern life equality in civil and political rights, equality before a common law, is the foundation of our political institutions. This equality is based upon the recognition and value of manhood in the individual. They dwelt upon the duties which men owed according to their station in life, we upon rights common to all men. In their political conflicts they strove to enlarge or to retain the privileges of a class or corporate body in society or the State. In modern political conflicts we seek to enlarge the liberty, or increase the well-being, of the individual citizen. Their appeal was to force in the hands of the legitimate authorities who gave and enforced the law; ours is to public opinion, which sooner or

later finds expression in law, and can always in the end secure its enforcement. In the application of the law they held a man guilty until he had proved his innocence, and thought it legitimate and laudable to torture the accused with fiendish cruelty, if other witness was wanting, to secure his confession upon which to base his conviction. Their maxim was rather that a hundred innocent men should be punished than that one guilty man should escape. We presume a man innocent until he is proved guilty; we have abolished torture, and think it better that a hundred guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should be unjustly punished.

In the economic realm they believed trade to have always a taint of fraud, and the taking of interest upon capital to be a sin. We seek national prosperity in expanding trade, and base our national finances and international politics upon national debts followed by every kind of corporate and individual credit upon which interest is paid. For economic, as well as religious, reasons they promoted celibacy; we believe national prosperity to be based upon an increasing population.

Socially, in mediæval life the gentleman was the man armed, prepared always to fight, and not slow to shed blood in his own quarrels, of which he kept on hand a good supply. With us it is the distinction of a gentleman that his keen sense of honor and consideration for those about him keep him not only from arms, but from courts, and even the strictures of polite society. In the mediæval world unhealthy dwellings, dirt, disease, the plague, and famine were always present. We pride ourselves upon our cleanliness, sanitation, and comfort.

In the sphere of art the Middle Ages saw the beautiful and blessed only in another and better world. The true attitude of mind was contempt of this world—a dwelling upon its vanity, the pettiness of its action and enjoyment, its baseness and cruelty, and its awful end. With us, as in the Sermon on the Mount, the beauty and joy of this life are foregleams and illustrations of the larger thought of God, and give meaning and content to the promises of the life beyond this. Hence, except in architecture and illuminating manuscripts, both essentially religious in character, the art of the Middle

Ages was but the rude experiments of the half-awakened mind, the unskilled hand and eye. With us technical skill has gone beyond the illuminating thought or the transforming imagination.

In the religious world even greater is the contrast. The center of the thought and life of the Middle Ages was the Church—its sacraments, its ritual and discipline, its saints, its relics and pilgrimages, its penances and indulgences. With the men of that time the Church in its sacraments made the officiating priest a mediator without whom the soul might not come to God. With them the ritual and service of the Church were the sufficient means of Christian instruction, and they kept the Scriptures in an unknown tongue, while the Vulgate translation was the infallible standard for doctrine. With us Christ is the center of Christian thought, and the man Christ Jesus the sole mediator between God and man. For us the chief means of instruction must be the written word of God—Christ's Gospel, the preparation which preceded it, and the explanation and work of those who first preached it. The Holy Scriptures are the basis of unceasing preaching in the public service of the Church, are taught in the Sunday school, and are read in the home as the best of spiritual guides. We seek the most accurate translation from the original Greek and Hebrew tongues, and spare no pains or expense to secure a text the most exact. Their conception of practical religion was a mortification of this life, to insure eternal blessedness. Ours is a rectification of inward being and life through Christ's redemption, which brings the soul into personal communion and participation with the divine and thus secures eternal life. They laid stress upon form and observance, the externals of religious life; we, upon the internal spiritual life—acceptance with God, living in the Spirit, and the imitation of Christ. With them heresy was the chiefest of crimes, punishable with death, and the heretic was an outlaw with whom no promises were binding and no faith was to be kept. With us religious toleration, as much as civil liberty, is the corner stone of society and the State. In religion, as in all else, the men of mediæval times looked ever backward toward the fathers, the councils, and the doctors of

the Church. In our time Christian men direct their gaze toward the unseen to-morrow, toward the greater light yet to break forth from God's word, and the advent of the reigning Christ.

In comparison with ours the world of the mediæval times was small. The crusaders first broke through its bounds and made the East known to all after generations—men with other languages, ruling ideas, religion, and civilization. Columbus doubled the extent of the known world—an historical event, taken in all its consequences, the most momentous since the beginning of the Christian Church. Vasco da Gama made it possible to reach India, and later China, without the intervention of the Arab or Turkish states or any Moslem power. This fact led to the economic ruin of Venice and the flourishing Italian, South German, and Flemish cities, but also forever threw the Mohammedan states out of the path of material advancement and national prosperity. Finally came Copernicus to unveil the heavens, as the Portuguese and Spaniards, following "the world-seeking Genoese," had revealed the unsuspected extent of the terrestrial globe. It was a new world in which men lived. It was a new age which dawned. The races of western and central Europe could not pass from the old to the new without two great transitions—the one intellectual and the other spiritual—the Renaissance and the Reformation. These have powerfully molded, throughout Christendom and as far as its influence extends, the individual and the social life of man.

These contrasts, true as a general statement of facts and conditions, yet perhaps, in particulars requiring qualification or even exception, bring us to the consideration of that transition which has shaped the intellectual culture of modern times. The Renaissance, like all movements of the human spirit which have fashioned society and civilization, passed through different stages of development. These may be divided roughly by dates between which distinctive characteristics appear that separate one era from another. If the dawn of the Renaissance begins with Dante it would extend to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. The ruling tendency of the intellectual life of these one hundred and fifty

years was the enthusiasm for Greek and Latin studies, which made their literatures the basis of our common culture. It was the era of the beginning of modern painting, sculpture, and Italian architecture. The period of the expansion of the Renaissance would include the next forty years, until the invasion of the French under Charles VIII in 1494. In this era, as in the preceding, Florence was the center and home of the movement. This was the age of Lorenzo de' Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent. These were the great days of Florence and her art. Here wrought Leonardo da Vinci, the youthful Michael Angelo, Fra Bartolommeo, and a crowd of scholars, thinkers, and artists such as no city has been able to match in the modern world. Yet after this great age came the culmination of the Renaissance. This filled the less than forty years between the French invasion and the sack of Rome in 1527. The center of power and achievement was now at Rome. To Rome came the great artists who had made their native Florence forever illustrious. Such were Michael Angelo, Bramante, Fra Bartolommeo, and Pinturicchio. Hither came also the Urbinese Raphael, who had done splendid work at Florence, his master Perugino, and a crowd of other famous artists. The new St. Peter's, the frescoes of the Vatican, and the Moses of Michael Angelo are the great monuments of this period, as of the art of the Renaissance. Beyond Italy the movement made itself felt in France, where Leonardo da Vinci died and Benvenuto Cellini wrought. It crossed the Alps to Germany, where Reuchlin brought in a new era in scholarship and teaching, and Hutten wrote, and Dürer wrought in many arts. Holland felt its power, and in Erasmus produced the representative figure in the literary world of the Renaissance. And across the Channel, in England, Sir Thomas More stands as the noblest character of that great movement in any land. Here, indeed, we have figures enough of commanding excellence to arrest our attention and to crowd our canvas.

Where should such a great intellectual movement have its birth? Where but in Italy? The past must give up its treasures, and reveal its life and civilization, so that men might better understand the meaning and value of the present world

and the present life. The past and the present must become intelligible before men could forge the keys which should force the locks guarding the secrets and resources of the future. Italy was the seat of Roman power. To Italy were drawn and in Italy were used and stored all the treasures of the ancient world. Their focus was Rome; nowhere else were they found in such splendor and abundance. Here the antique world forced itself upon even the most careless observer. Here were the remains of the great architectural achievements of the Romans. Here were their amphitheaters, basilicas, palaces, and temples. Here, even more luxurious, were their villas and their baths, crowded with the choicest statuary and the rarest decorative painting and mosaic work of the ancient capital of the world, and here were miles of their splendid tombs. Much was buried, but enough was in sight to astonish the beholder and to incite the curiosity and reward the endeavor of all who cared for the life or beauty of ancient Rome. Here her language had longest prevailed, was most at home, and was best understood. Here were most abundant and best explained the noblest remains of her literature. Here could be found impressive and significant memorials of her art, her civilization, her public and private life. Man's awakening intellect found here material for inquiry and rich reward for exertion before his eyes and beneath his feet. On the other hand Italy, most in contact with the East, increasing in material prosperity through its trade, forming numerous and independent centers of civic life, led by Venice and Florence, had more wealth, refinement, and learning than any other part of Europe. Italy was the home of the Renaissance. Here it began, this was the center from which its life and influence went forth, and here it reached its most luxuriant development.

Where shall be found the origin and source of the Renaissance? Not in any single act, like the nailing of the theses upon the church door at Wittenberg, or the convocation of the States General in 1789, or the firing upon Fort Sumter in 1861. Intellectual movements are more difficult to trace, but there will be no mistake in placing Dante at the dividing line between the life of the mediæval time and that which was to take its place. In his great vision he summoned up all that

was grand and inspiring in the ideas and society of the Middle Ages, and made it our heritage forever. But Dante did this in a modern tongue, and gave to the world the first great masterpiece of modern European literature. The Crusades were just finishing at his birth. They had given a new intellectual horizon and a broader life to Europe; the old utter ignorance could never return. Dante could not but feel the influence of his changing age. The greatest of mankind not only sum up the past, but by creative genius cause the universal in human nature to assume new forms and a richer life. This Dante did; this did Shakespeare and Scott and the leaders of the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century. With Dante closed the Middle Ages and opened the Renaissance. Its most gifted representatives spake his tongue, and Florence, the city of his love, as of his birth, rivaled, as no other city of the world, the Athens of Pericles. Walking its streets and studying its monuments illuminates the age of the Renaissance. Here at the same time wrought Michael Angelo and preached Savonarola and a few years later painted Raphael. Can we place three such names together in any other place or age in Christian history? Meanwhile Martin Luther was singing chorals and winning a home with Ursula Cotta at Eisenach.

The Renaissance discovered man his possibilities and his past; it made known the greater part of the world on which we dwell; it unveiled the heavens; it began the liberation of the human spirit. The voice of the Renaissance called truth from her sepulcher, and its hands tore the bandage from her eyes. Men learned at least to see with the eyes of truth; the liberation of brain and heart awaited the Reformation. The lesson of the Renaissance, its splendor and its failure, can never cease to profit the thoughtful Christian and the Christian Church.

S. H. Dyer

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Over thirty years ago, on the 24th of November, 1867, Victor Hugo wrote from Hauteville House, in Guernsey, where he was exiled from his beloved France, to the Revolutionary Committee of Porto Rico: "The Republic of Porto Rico has fought bravely for its liberty. Spain turned out of America! That is the great aim; that is the great duty for Americans. Cuba free like San Domingo! I applaud all these great efforts; the liberty of the world is made up of the liberty of each people."

Life, the world, and our own hearts bear perpetual witness to the truth of Christ's words. A French thinker is scientifically correct in saying, "When we meditate on a saying of Christ's we accept it at first because it is his; but anon conscience recognizes an eternal verity in it, so that we almost seem less to have found it in the New Testament than in our inmost selves; or the mind perceives in it a necessary and universal principle so that it seems to sound from life and the world as much as from his word." In this agreement of life, the world, the mind, and the conscience with the Word, there is proof of a unity of origin for them all. It amounts to a demonstration that Christ is one with the Maker of the world, the Controller of life, the Creator of the mind, and the Giver of the conscience. The elaboration of this argument would, in competent hands, make a stupendous sermon.

LANIER'S DEVOUT BALLAD.

"A Ballad of Trees and the Master," by Sidney Lanier, is so artless, simple, sacred, sweet, as to stand almost alone in a niche by itself in devotional literature. It is the reverent and tender soliloquy of a Christian disciple who, loving nature and worshiping nature's God, goes into the woods and presently comes out again, devoutly meditating all the while in a way which

makes his going in and coming out a sort of sacramental obedience to Him who dignified an ordinary action by saying of it to his disciples, "This do in remembrance of me."

The poet is musing about his Lord, and as he approaches the woods, looking toward them, he reflects:

> Into the woods my Master went,
> Clean forspent, forspent.

Having entered the woods, he thinks still how the weary Christ did the same:

> Into the woods my Master came,
> Forspent with love and shame.

Feeling sure that Nature must have known and acknowledged her Lord, he says to himself:

> But the olives they were not blind to Him,
> The little gray leaves were kind to Him,
> The thorn tree had a mind to Him,
> When into the woods He came.

When ready to leave the woods, and looking out toward their margin, the poet, still reverently meditating, sees in imagination his submissive Lord leaving the shadow of Gethsemane's olive trees:

> Out of the woods my Master went,
> And He was well content.

Emerging into the open, Lanier's loving and pitying thoughts go pacing on, side by side with the Man of Sorrows:

> Out of the woods my Master came,
> Content with death and shame.

Then the spirit of this tree-loving Christian sees in a vision the betrayer and the soldiers lead his Master out and away from the Garden of the Anguish:

> When death and shame would woo Him last,
> From under the trees they drew Him last.

And finally, as the musing poet moves homeward from the woods, the crucifixion comes in sight—Calvary, where the Saviour's murderers stain the wood of a tree with his blood:

> 'Twas on a tree they slew Him last,
> When out of the woods He came.

That is all of the ballad, and the poet's short retreat with "Trees and the Master" ends in a silence which seems to shake

as with sobs suppressed. That is all, only sixteen short lines; but no great paintings of our Lord's passion have moved us more than Lanier's two simple and pathetic verses. Though not so impulsive or effusive, they seem to us as truly devotional as anything in Thomas à Kempis or Madame Guyon, with the advantage of an unconventional and very sane religiousness which is of the open air and not of the cloister. We think them quite as worthy to be cherished perpetually for their unique reality, their unaffected simplicity, their brief completeness, as Letitia Barbauld's much-praised verse addressed to life, the authorship of which Wordsworth said he envied her:

> Life! we've been long together,
> Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
> 'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,
> Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
> Then steal away, give little warning,
> Choose thine own time;
> Say not "Good night," but in some brighter clime
> Bid me "Good morning."

A BIT OF CRITICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Edward Dickinson, nephew of Emily Dickinson, assistant librarian of Amherst College, who died May 3, 1898, wrote that the *Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* far surpasses *Robert Elsmere*: "The first is the original thought of a man who is most extraordinarily honest with himself; the other is the result of careful and tasteful compilation." This judgment of the "higher criticism" on Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere* excites a similar *a priori* apprehension toward her recent *brochure, New Forms of Christian Education*, laid upon our table by the publishers, T. Y. Crowell & Company, and suggests a question whether in this production also the reputed author may be a redactor of matter gathered from more than one pre-existing document. Confirmatory of such apprehension is the fact that on searching its contents carefully for any internal evidence bearing on the question we find signs, not only of compilation, but also of at least a double authorship, for we distinctly hear running through this utterance tones as different as those in "The Two Voices" of Tennyson, one of skepticism and one of trust toward the validity and verity of accepted

Christian doctrine. Finding this, the spirit of the age warrants a small experiment in criticism for the purpose of separating the words of the document of original faith from those of the unbelieving deutero-author.

When so-called "Christian" rationalism places on our table a streaked, Neapolitan, *Tutti Frutti* confection it is our mental habit to proceed with deliberation in a discriminating selection and rejection, referring for justification of our eclecticism to the venerable example of Jack Sprat and his wife, each of whom appropriated only what each could relish and assimilate, and also—pardon the collocation—to the example of the rationalizing biblical critic who pieces together from preferred remnants of Holy Writ what he presents as the real Bible, but which seems to many a crazy quilt too narrow and too short to cover the needy nakedness of the sinful human soul. Using, therefore, after the fashion of Christian scholars, the methods of the higher criticism on the side of faith and in the interests of evangelical doctrine as the antisupernaturalist, *per contra*, uses them against those interests, we separate and cast away from the document now before us by the judgment of our inner sense the portions which seem to that inward critical authority incompatible or incongruous, retaining only such matter as may, by some loyal interpretation, be made to coalesce with essential Christianity in a unity satisfactory to our taste. Of what follows hereafter in this writing, be it understood, little is ours except the dovetailing together of the parts retained by us from Mrs. Ward's essay. What we here submit might be called our revised version of *New Forms of Christian Education*, the text of Mrs. Ward's manuscript being, so far as possible, retained. Our responsibility for the pages of the *Review* obliges us, as our disposition inclines us and our control thereof enables us, to reserve their space for matter friendly and not hostile to evangelic truth. No obligation toward any author binds us to incrust and freeze our pages with the hoarfrost of unbelief; it is our right as well as duty to hold them ever toward the sun and make them always beat with the old Gospel's ancient heat. Accordingly, we now transcribe from the writing before us the substance of those parts which belong to the perihelion, and not to the aphelion, of undecided semirationalism in its oscillations between faith and unfaith.

The essay concedes that the petulant skepticism of the

eighteenth century, like much other skepticism, was in itself wholly barren, bespattering and defacing the then current picture of Christian reality, but not putting anything in its place; that there are innumerable points where biblical criticism with all its efforts will probably never make good a claim to dictate; that it is clearly possible for the labors of Assyriologists and Egyptologists to throw fresh light upon portions of the Old Testament that had been prematurely or imperfectly explained by the literary critic; that many statements and sections of the Pentateuch may ultimately be shown by the archæologist to have a higher antiquity or a more definite historical value than the critic has granted; that archæology is transforming our knowledge of the ancient world; that the early culture of the Hebrews is in all probability both more ancient and more complex than any critic of fifty years ago could have supposed; that Professor Ramsay's vivid work upon the Acts, based mainly on the first-hand knowledge of an archæologist, is believed to have undone a great deal of German criticism; that modern scientific knowledge fights against the deists who denied the conformity of Christianity to nature, while increasing historical knowledge fights against their denial of the validity of the Christian evidences.

The essay observes that historical theology concerns itself chiefly just now with the life of Christ, the criticism of the Old Testament having taken a secondary place, while the problems of the gospels have once more moved to the forefront; that there is still wanting an English Life of Christ which shall enrich, not the literature of popular edification, but the literature of a true and responsible knowledge; that more discoveries like that of the *Logia* are possible and would teach us more than we now know of the origins of the gospels; that scholarship is throwing ever fresh light on the conceptions and beliefs which prevailed in the age when Jesus was growing up.

The essay notes that in the past all phases of Christian teaching have at some time undergone gradual modification from the progressive thought and experience of man's religious life. As Luther and Wesley, each in his day and way, modified the faith of Christendom, so also the Calvinism of the Scotch peasant of to-day in that delightful Thrums which a novelist pictures is not the Calvinism of John Calvin and the Genevese ordinances; and the Anglicanism of this century is far from the Anglicanism

of the eighteenth century which busied itself in "hewing and chiseling Christianity into an intelligible human system, represented as affording a remarkable evidence of the truth of the Bible;" and the Catholicism of a Manning, ready to join hands with any heretic so long as temperance be preached, the child protected, or the laborer raised a step nearer to manhood, was not like the Catholicism of Newman, only a generation earlier, with its eagerness about speculative theory, its abhorrence of Liberalism and Liberals, its remoteness from this workaday world, and its comparative indifference as to whether there be "too many public houses in England or no." Even where the same great old words of creed and argument are retained, the emphasis, the place of the accent, the pronunciation of the words have been changed from time to time, and such change has altered the leading, urgent meaning of the whole, the meaning which stirs the blood and attaches the heart.

The essay remarks that this historic progress of Christian thought has not now come to a halt; to-day does not "stand at gaze like Joshua's moon in Ajalon;" in almost all Christian bodies are felt the vibrations of change if not the pangs of new births, the stir of movements neither retrograde nor tardigrade; and various forces operate, both from within the Church and from without, for the gradual modification of religious opinion, for a different arrangement or a slightly altered point of view, giving a new perspective. But while the religious consciousness contains always two elements—the transient and the permanent—so that what is to last makes its way at first in human life by virtue of that which is to pass away, yet the Christian battle of doctrine and belief moves without any real check toward a unifying knowledge. And although the order of the apologetic argument may require to be reset the inviolable root-beliefs of Christendom will remain, however the deductive constructions of inferential doctrine may be pruned and trained. If any hold that, by reason of growing knowledge, we are on the eve of a new Christian philosophy and restatements of beliefs, yet, because the faith of nineteen centuries has been no delusion, all must admit that the history of those centuries and of the part played therein by that force called "the Life of Christ" will enter into the new statement whenever it appears, preserving the vital continuity of doctrine and making the faith of the future a normal development and enlargement of the

faith of the past, so that rational coherence and essential constancy will live through all the transformations and constitute a living and lasting growth of human thought.

The essay asserts that Christianity is a system founded on perennial needs of human nature, bound up with the hopes and sorrows, the tears, the agonies, the joys of eighteen hundred years, which has added to the ethical thought of Greece and the governing power of Rome an emotion and an enthusiasm all its own ; that the distrust of Christianity seen among some of the present day is the most wasteful and uncalled-for surrender of its own wealth that modern life can make ; that this age is not so rich in symbols and rallying cries, nor is it so easy to touch, to bind, to lift men, that we can dispense with the images, the thoughts, the aspirations and inspirations which have touched and bound and raised them in the past, and which come to us, therefore, steeped in and consecrated by an unfathomable human experience ; that Christianity still claims our faith and our devotion because in its best form it is the most moving and beautiful, the most striking and concrete testimony that history affords to the power of a divine and eternal life, a life which is perpetually revealed in conscience, law, and knowledge, and which so presses on and appeals to the human spirit that it can generate, within the sphere of contact between it and man, a faith that can transfigure these passing years and take the terror from the face of death.

The essay declares that the " Christian riddle " as a whole is being read with a self-verifying accuracy and subtlety which a hundred years ago were still among the unconceived births of time; that the force of Christian evidence and the power of its argument grows from year to year; that as new conceptions of the Christian reality come with successive decades that reality gains in vividness, fullness, and convincing power, and as it is impressed with irresistible force upon the mind of mankind the figure of the Master becomes ever clearer and grander, all progress of knowledge and thought only strengthening our grasp of that tender and beautiful reality; that it is being more and more fully understood how it happened that Jesus, and not anybody else, stands in history as the leader and symbol of a great movement of converging philosophies and kindling enthusiasms which coincided with the birth of modern Europe under the ægis of the Roman empire and is still capable of infinite expansion;

that in the Christian history God and man have met for the founding of the most significant, the divinest work of human history, by which light has dawned for the slave, the outcast, the woman, the poor; that the personality, life, words, acts of Christ thrown on the fitting moment of history have evoked from the race that electric power of sympathy and passion which is to utilize materials from "the stored labor of Greek ethical thought, the ordered power of Roman life, and the moral and imaginative wealth of Jewish faith, for the actual building in earth's midst of the new Jerusalem, and the practical founding of the city of God."

The essay assures us that if, in our teaching, we so use the life of Christ as to make of it the most compelling and the most fruitful symbol known to our experience of that contact between God and our poor human consciousness which is religion, then we need have no fear that it will ever fail to meet religious need or strike out spiritual response; that by studiously following the Master as he moves among the sins and needs, the sufferings and affections, of Galilee and Jerusalem, and by communing with him, there will be quickened in us, and in those whom we teach, both reverence for the life of duty and of pity and strength for the daily relations and tasks of our own world, each of those relations and duties being connected in our thoughts with the beloved and sacred name of Him who stands, by the irrevocable choice of men, at the head of the spiritual life of Europe and America, and who bequeaths to us the maintenance and spread of his work; that all things may be done to God in Christ, and that only by so doing can men hope for the growth which alone is true life, growth in that temper at once of self-surrender and indomitable hope which yields all that man has and does to the action of the indwelling, all-transforming God, whose chief representative in history is Jesus Christ.

We have given largely in its own language those parts of the essay before us most closely allied to sound doctrine. Neology adheres by some of its tentacles to the Rock, while its bulk floats and sways about in currents unstable and irregular. The vitality of the Christian creed is manifest in its continuing to appeal with undiminished effect, spite of all questioning and criticism, to the alert and progressive intelligence of civilized mankind—the intelligence which dominates and leads the world.

THE ARENA.

THE SOURCE OF DEPRAVITY.

1. "THE holiness of Adam," says Dr. Miley, "as newly created and before any personal action of his own, was simply a subjective state and tendency in harmony with his moral relations and duties. But such a state, however real and excellent, and however pleasing to the divine mind, could not have any true ethical quality, or in any proper sense be accounted either meritorious or rewardable."* In other words, Adam's holiness was essentially that condition of sinless purity in which he was created. This also constituted the spiritual image of God in him. Both came, it is to be observed, by divine creation, without any cooperative action of human will. These were designed as the foundations, we may assume, upon which character should be built up in the creature, by his free action in right doing. And if this were accomplished it would add to his original holiness the ethical element that it lacked and which for obvious reasons the creative fiat of God could not give. Adam's freedom, however, without which he could not have been a moral being, made him susceptible to temptation, and carried with it the power, against God's wish and will, to make bad character. This, on his first trial by temptation, he elected to do. He sinned, and thereby lost the holiness created in him and the moral features of the divine image as well. Hence he was no longer pure or sinless, but unholy and sinful—before God's law a sinner. This was his "fall."

2. The full penalty of Adam's sin was not visited upon him. Notwithstanding his wickedness he was left in life and allowed to propagate. But for the intervention of the same creative might which gave the first pair their pristine holiness this would mean the entailment of corruption upon those utterly innocent of the "great transgression." That justice demanded they should be saved from this awful inheritance, if possible to divine power and consistent with God's moral government, appears beyond controversy. By permitting them to be brought into existence the equitable basis for such a claim is laid.

Here, none can question the resources of Omnipotence. If, as has been shown, God created the "holiness" of Adam in absolute independence of the latter's will, the adequacy of his power to endow the souls of all the race with a like estate of sinless purity at the beginning of their being is hardly open to debate. And it is immaterial to this proposition which view is taken of the origin of human souls—whether it be by propagation or creation. The ground of the equity now in view clearly is in the fact of their existence under a contingency of evil, to be suffered if not averted, rather than the way it began.

* *Systematic Theology*, vol. i, pp. 410.

The remaining question, then, relates to the divine government. Did its requirements bar this demand of even-handed justice? Possibly, but for the atonement, one may say yes. Independently of that, however, the point is purely speculative, and therefore need not be discussed. Apparently God had done his utmost in the creation of the first pair to people this earth with moral beings who, by righteous living, should at once picture the "beauty of holiness" and be the objects of infinite love. The plan in vital features fell short of its purpose. But as nothing greater was possible the only problem appears to have been whether or not the failure should be total, as would be the case had the first pair been cut off without posterity, or only partial at the worst, under propagation coupled with redemption. The latter alternative was chosen by the mutual action of the Father, who gave his Son, and of the Son, who "gave himself a ransom for all." Thus atonement was made for sin, and the door opened to salvation from "all uncleanness." No governmental bar, therefore, can now be interposed to the claims of justice above set out. The scheme of redemption forever forbids that.

Evangelical theologians generally agree that the atonement has two distinct modes and fields of operation in the saving of human souls. One is with such as have come to be morally responsible, in respect to whom salvation from sin committed is conditioned upon repentance and faith. Of these nothing further need be said. The other relates to those who die in infancy, or before reaching a morally accountable state. All, I think, concede that such are saved by what is termed the "unconditional" efficacy of the atonement. This proves that God has opened a way to the creation in the souls of those descended from Adam, by his act alone, of the original holiness, and to the impression upon them of the spiritual image given to the first pair. And obviously, if this can be done in one *in articulo mortis*, it may be accomplished before. The power of God is not tied until death loosens it by any Scripture, nor is the will to help the creatures he loves thus limited. Here, again, I am aided by others. Our Discipline declares that "all children, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, are members of the kingdom of God" (¶ 43). This is something, but eminent men go beyond it. In his comment on Luke xviii, 16, Dr. Whedon asserts that Christ places all infants "in a state virtually equivalent to the adult who is born again." So, in the able work, *Doctrinal Aspects of Christian Experience*, Bishop Merrill declares that redemption secured the "incipient workings of grace in the soul, placing every child of the fallen race in a justified state, in the kingdom of God, and in possession of the germ of life." * This leaves only a question as to the unconditional exercise of sanctifying power whereby, in spiritual completeness, new souls would be made "new creatures" in Christ. On that I appeal now to the teachings of the Master.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree in showing that with Christ little

* P. 15.

children, or, as the latter states, "infants," are typical representatives of God's kingdom. As incapable of any activity therein they clearly could be exemplars only of the spiritual *status* requisite for its members. These babes were in this respect Christ's moral creations, and he gives no hint that his work had been in any sense incomplete. Not a suggestion is contained, in either account, that they were "sinful" or in need of being "born again." All the fair implications are diametrically to the contrary, thus leaving us to infer that the entire work of redemption had been accomplished in them. They were held up by Jesus to those about him as spiritual types of what he would have sinners become. Looked upon as merely regenerated, his action and words are misleading. As the history reads, no jot or tittle of his redeeming grace had the Saviour withheld from these "little ones" whom he so fondly loved. Upon the teachings of the passages alluded to, then, I postulate for all souls the sinlessness, purity, and consequent harmony with God's will which were the essential elements of man's original holiness. I assume also that, as with Adam, the work would be done at the beginning of existence. Hence, by grace of Him who tasted "death for every man," the spiritual image of God is stamped upon each soul, to be lost only as by the first sinner through actual transgression.

Thus regarded, the atonement of Christ, as applied by himself, accomplishes three things: It prevents an awful inheritance of corruption; in accord with the demands of justice it starts the immortal career of all in the subjective state, morally, created in the first pair; and finally, it thus lays in each soul the original, and as we must suppose, therefore, the best, foundations upon which in freedom, aided by grace, to rear the glorious superstructure of righteous character. This view of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, and this only, as I believe, makes it commensurate with human needs and an adequate response to the ethical requirements which the relations of God to his creatures under the circumstances creates.

3. The arguments for inherited, or native depravity, I do not at length consider. It may be remarked, however, that when Adam and Eve, perfect in moral nature, with holy surroundings, and God as a familiar companion, yielded to temptation the fact that their descendants go astray is far from proving the innate depravity of the latter. But the Scripture is quoted, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." Because of the sins of his parents this passage may have been literally true, as respects its author, as it would be in regard to multitudes of others. To apply it to procreation by Christian fathers and mothers, however, in the relations of holy wedlock I regard as but little short of atrocious. This is tantamount to saying that the command to multiply and replenish the earth can be obeyed by God's people only in foul corruption. But, even if so taken, it is utterly irrelevant. Parents may be as devilish as Satan wishes, at conception and during gestation; still, that is manifestly powerless to

stop Christ from giving to the new soul a state of sinless purity, at the threshold of its being, if in the economy of his grace he wills so to do. That point the passage in no way touches. The conclusion of the whole matter is, then, that all depravity arises out of actual transgression. Each one's personal sin is what brings it to him, not that of an ancestor, near or remote.

HIRAM L. SIBLEY.
Marietta, O.

CHURCH MUSIC.

IN the admirable paper by Dr. Hatfield, in the May-June *Review*, we find that he doubts whether fifty hymns and tunes would need to be added to our present *Hymnal* to bring it to the highest working value for our present uses. Had he said that we need one hundred fewer hymns and one hundred better tunes he would have come nearer the mark. Probably not 600 of the 1,117 hymns in our *Hymnal* have ever been sung in our churches. As a body of poems it is unequaled, and for private or public reading these poems are matchless, but as a tune book it is a marvelous failure. This is the sole reason why our Sunday schools and social meetings discard it, and use singable tunes to meaningless words. That the revisers of the old *Hymnal* were fine scholars and cultivated musicians cannot be doubted, but that they comprehended the wants of the people may well be questioned. In some cases they committed the unpardonable sin of divorcing familiar hymns from familiar tunes, and thus practically removed the hymns from further use. If some competent tune-maker would revise our excellent body of theology as found in our *Hymnal*, we could in a short time drive out the swarms of *Gems* and *Charms* and *Shouts* and *ad omne genus* from our Sunday schools, social and revival services. But it will avail nothing to cheapen our standard, for that will not make it more singable. Besides this, the selections for special occasions are so few, and of such a character, as to compel us to turn to other books for suitable music for special occasions. We are told that the preaching of to-day must differ from that of fifty years ago, and even greater difference must be had in our tunes. Our hymnology is all right, but our tuneology is all wrong, if we wish to use our hymnology to profit. Until we can set more of our *Hymnal* to choruses and take away much of its stateliness and cathedral solemnity, we need not complain of those who turn to music that pleases the ear and reaches the heart. The last General Conference would have attended to this matter had there not been in stock too many *Hymnals* to be set aside by a new edition. Possibly the next General Conference will see the necessity of having our people use our grand old hymns, and that this can be done only by giving them singable tunes.

There is also an invidious naming of tunes in our *Hymnal*. Just why Bishops Andrews, Harris, Janes, Simpson, Warren, and Waugh should be embalmed in tunes, and Bishops Merrill, Bowman, Goodsell, and others should be omitted, is not clear. And why Drs. Bristol, Durbin,

Eaton, and others should be honored, while Drs. Buckley, Berry, Buttz, and others should go down to posterity unsung, is a mystery.

But the name of a tune does not signify that it will be singable. The music in a church is fully one half of the service, both as to interest and profit. Revise our *Hymnal*, take out one third that now is only readable, and set to proper music our old hymns, not forgetting an abundance of choruses, and we shall soon have the hymns that are sung at the church services also used in the Sunday school, Epworth League, and revival meetings. Then our singing will be spirited and spiritual.

Whittier, Cal. W. R. Goodwin.

"A NEW DEPARTURE PROPOSED."

Dr. A. B. Leonard's article with the above title in the *Review* of May–June has the right ring. It is a forward movement projected. Its adoption means the hastening of the completion of Christ's kingdom. May the Church indorse it. Moreover, it would have a tendency, as suggested, to eliminate from the missionary ranks, both prospective and in the field, those who are not truly called; perhaps its value to the Church in this respect can hardly be overestimated.

A suggestion, however, might not be amiss. Would it not be possible to incorporate with this plan, to a working extent, the "living link" idea? Would not this help to impress upon the home Church the responsibility resting upon it? Why not let one large church or several smaller ones combined, according to their present gifts, be made responsible for the support of a missionary or mission station? A certain per cent of their offerings could be used for this purpose, while the balance could be turned into a common fund for general missionary and office expenses—the whole being administered, as now, through the central office. The fields assigned thus to the home churches could be annually changed by the secretaries, so that breadth of view and intensity of purpose would be combined in those who send. Those sent, making use of the means now at their disposal through the ingeniously enlarged circulation of *World-Wide Missions*, would thus be placed under obligations to give a brief annual account of their work to the Church at large, while by personal letters at least every three months, addressed to the pastors, they could keep the missionary fires in the hearts of their special supporters burning brightly.

Such a plan should not increase the office expenses perceptibly. In fact, it would probably diminish them by dispensing with the necessity of frequently sending out circulars urging on the collections for this great cause. For it undoubtedly does increase the home interest, and at the same time gives added incentive toward self-support upon the part of the converts in the field, as they are made acquainted with the sacrifices incurred by those at home for their benefit, through the letters of the pastors to the missionaries. W. W. Cadle.

Lumber City, Pa.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

CERTIFICATES AS SUBSTITUTES FOR CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

The proposition to accept certificates from reputable institutions in lieu of actual examination in the course of study has been agitated for many years. The only action by the General Conference giving specific authority, if there be such at all, is embodied in ¶ 57 of the Appendix to the Discipline for 1896. The history of this action is briefly told. At the General Conference of 1892 the report of the Committee on Itinerancy, submitting a plan for improving the methods of Conference examinations, was referred to the bishops with power to adopt its provisions at their discretion during the coming quadrennium. Many and diverse plans were adopted by the Conferences in the four years following. Among these appears the plan devised by the Southern Illinois Conference and printed in the Minutes of that Conference for 1895, and which is almost identical with that recommended by the bishops to the General Conference of 1896 at Cleveland, and embodied in the present Appendix of the Discipline. The chairman of the Board of Examiners of the Southern Illinois Conference claims the honor of suggesting the plan, as well as the first use of the term "mid-year examinations." However this may be, certain it is that for many years prior to 1895 some Conferences had actually conducted mid-year examinations.

At the Cleveland Conference the report of the Committee on Education was adopted authorizing each Annual Conference "to adopt such methods and operate on such plans as may be deemed best suited to the conditions and needs of the individual Conferences." On the following day the bishops reported upon the subject referred to them by the General Conference of 1892, and their report is embodied in ¶ 57 of the Appendix of the present Discipline. It is urged by Dr. J. T. McFarland, in an article upon the subject in *The Christian Advocate*, that in view of its history and the action of the previous day this accepted report of the bishops cannot be construed as having the force of a legal enactment. He urges that, while having much value as a recommendation, "it is not law and has no mandatory power."

Shortly after the Cleveland Conference the Annual Conferences began to apply the provision of ¶ 57 regarding the acceptance of certificates, and many embarrassments arose. Certificates were offered from institutions of almost every conceivable grade. Numerous inquiries were addressed to the bishops concerning the interpretation of the above-mentioned provision, and these led to the statement promulgated from the episcopal meeting at Pittsburg. According to that statement the Annual Conference, and not the Board of Examiners, must determine all questions concerning the admissibility of certificates, as date, competency

of examiner, and grade of institution. Conferences are reminded that "no certificates can be received from any institution except those of our own Church." Under this ruling a student presenting a certificate in psychology from a Conference seminary may be exempt from examination, while another student offering a certificate from Johns Hopkins University is required to pass an examination. Besides the contention by Dr. McFarland, it is urged by others that when an Annual Conference appoints a Board of Examiners it delegates to that Board both its duty and prerogative in this matter, and the report of that Board is as truly final as is the report of a select number in a trial, and that an Annual Conference always treats it as final, receiving it without action. Thus, it is argued, when the Board of Examiners accepts or rejects a certificate it is the Annual Conference that is acting, the Board being the Conference *de facto* for this work. Accordingly, a Board not choosing to accept the recommendation of ¶ 57, Appendix, and acting under the authority expressly given by the General Conference, may adopt its own methods and decide to accept from a student a certificate in psychology from Johns Hopkins University as offering to them "satisfactory evidence of his knowledge of the studies prescribed"—the fundamental purpose for which the Board is created.

With these widely different views it is not remarkable there should be diverse usage among the Conferences. The following, it may be broadly stated, accept certificates, though under diverse conditions: Atlanta, Austin, Baltimore, Blue Ridge, Central Alabama, Central German, Central Illinois, Central Missouri, Chicago German, Cincinnati, Colorado, Dakota, Des Moines, Detroit, East Ohio, Erie, Genesee, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Newark, New England, New Hampshire, New York East, Northern New York, North Indiana, Northwest Indiana, Northwest Iowa, Northwest Kansas, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pittsburg, Puget Sound, South Carolina, Southern California, Southern Illinois, Southwest Kansas, Tennessee, Texas, Troy, Upper Mississippi, Virginia, West Nebraska, West Virginia, West Wisconsin, Wilmington, Wisconsin, Wyoming—forty-nine in all. The following six Conferences absolutely refuse to accept any certificates: Alabama, East German, New Jersey, New York, Northwest German, Southern German. One Conference, the St. John's River, has had no certificate presented, but the chairman of the Board expresses a decided hostility to the plan. We have referred to diverse conditions under which certificates are received. In twenty-six Conferences the Board of Examiners passes upon the certificates. In twenty Conferences the Board refers the certificates to the Conference for action. In the Southern Illinois Conference all certificates are referred by the Board to the Committee on Education. Twenty-six Conferences accept certificates from our own schools only, and twelve accept certificates from other schools, chiefly in subjects not strictly theological, while five Conferences have as yet no rule in the matter. The Cincinnati Conference accepts certificates of State, county,

and city school boards in "elementary English branches," and in the same subjects the Genesee Conference accepts the Regents' certificates of New York State. The Troy Conference Board sends a blank form of certificate to candidates, and to the schools from which most of the students come. "These forms," writes Dr. Gates, "will guide professors in marking our examinations, and they will show students what we will require."

We take the liberty of quoting from letters received some reasons briefly assigned for or against accepting certificates, though it must not be understood that the correspondent is thereby expressing his personal attitude or doing other than reproducing arguments advanced in the discussion. Reasons for accepting certificates: Dr. W. P. Thirkield, Atlanta Conference, "It encourages candidates to attend our schools;" G. E. Hiller, Central German, "It leaves candidate free to pursue other studies;" T. W. McVety, Central Illinois, "It honors our educational institutions;" F. G. Mitchell, Cincinnati, "Facilities for study better in schools than in pastorate; examinations there usually more thorough;" L. K. Billingsley, Kansas, "It gives young men more time for pulpit preparation and pastoral visitation; hastens time for receiving deacon's orders;" Dr. C. W. McCormick, Newark, "It is fair to those who have taken time to attend schools;" Dr. W. N. Rice, New York East, "A graduate of a good college or theological school has already been sufficiently tested on the studies in the curriculum;" C. C. Townsend, Northern New York, "It draws the Conference and the schools together;" Dr. S. W. Trousdale, West Wisconsin, "Is what is done in all other schools." Reasons against: A. W. McKinney, Central Alabama Conference, "It puts power of deciding upon the literary qualification of a candidate upon persons outside the Conference;" Dr. C. F. Rice, New England, "It deprives the Board of personal knowledge of the intellectual caliber of the candidates;" B. F. Brooks, Puget Sound, "Certificates from colleges are of varying and uncertain value;" Frank Gary, Texas, "It has a tendency to cause candidates to cease studying;" John Handley, New Jersey, "A man, if he be thoroughly conversant with the subject, will not hesitate to review it in examination;" Frederick Schaub, Northwest German, "All discrimination avoided; sustains the authority of the Conference;" Dr. S. H. Day, St. John's River, "If, as is most often the case, the Conference text-books differ from the school text-books, there is the added advantage of the author's treatment."

This diversity of opinion among individuals, and of usage among Conferences, on the admissibility of certificates seems almost deplorable, but it will prove beneficent if it results in the adoption by the General Conference of some better plan. The whole subject of utilizing to the best advantage the Conference course of study—one of the great problems of the Itinerants' Club movement—challenges the best thought of the ablest educators of Methodism.

Among the new organizations reported we are glad to welcome the Baltimore Conference Itinerants' Club, instituted at the last meeting of the Conference in March, and whose first session was held in Washington, May 23–26. A Summer Institute has been organized by the Delaware and Washington Conferences, and opens its first session at Dover, Del., August 17. The Ocean Grove Summer School holds its fourth session August 2–12. Besides the representative scholars of this country who appear upon the programme Professor Casper René Gregory, of the University of Leipsic, will lecture on New Testament work.

THINGS TO BE AVOIDED IN A SERMON.

The introduction, while an integral part of a complete sermon, should not be regarded as the most important. Yet the failure to arrest attention at the start often mars the effect of the entire sermon, and hence the character of the introduction and its form of presentation are worthy of consideration. There are some faults in this part of a sermon against which the young preacher should be on his guard.

It should not be too long. However beautiful and strong the portico to a building may be, it should not be disproportionate to the building itself. This is a common fault in sermons. We sometimes listen to preachers who enter into a long disquisition at the beginning of the discourse. The congregation gets the impression from its length that he is in the midst of his sermon, when they learn to their surprise that he is not yet through the introduction. After this it is more difficult to hold the attention than it would have been if he had at an earlier point entered upon the main discussion. Of course there must be variation as to length, growing out of the importance of the topic and the necessity of having the minds of the congregation properly prepared for it. There are subjects the way to which must be elaborately laid down, but this is only on rare occasions and on special subjects. There can be no rule laid down as to the length of this part of the sermon. It should rarely exceed five minutes in length, and often it should be shorter than that. The danger is in too great length.

Another thing to be avoided is irrelevance. It is not only necessary that the introduction be relevant, but that the hearers shall recognize its relation to the topic to be discussed. An introduction is practically irrelevant when it is obscure. It should lead to the discussion by a direct and plain course. This relevance may be secured by proceeding from the genus to the species, or from the species to the genus. The writer not long ago listened to an excellent sermon on perjury. The preacher began by a consideration of the baseness of lying, and then proceeded to the treatment of the kind of lying on which he proposed to lay emphasis. Or, sometimes the introduction may be an explanation of the principle underlying the text. The form which this relevancy should take will depend largely upon the nature of the discourse,

whether exegetical, topical, or hortatory. The skill of the preacher will appear in the way in which the audience is led to the subject. An introduction which does not grow naturally out of the text should be avoided. There is added power to a sermon when the audience recognizes that the text is the direct basis of the discourse. It is well to state, however briefly, the relation of the text to the subject, and this is itself generally a sufficient preface, without any further introduction. For an exegetical sermon this method is absolutely necessary, inasmuch as it is impossible to treat a text adequately without a clear setting forth of its contextual environment. However, the method of introduction, as has already been indicated, will vary greatly with the subject and the occasion.

It is not out of place, and may be very fitting at times, when the text is clear, to announce at once the train of thought without any introduction whatever. There have been occasions when the text is a "pretext" rather than a text. For such sermons no rule of introduction can be laid down, but for sermons which are based on a passage of Scripture it is safe to say that a minister will be greatly helped to pulpit success by avoiding such evident defects as those of undue length, irrelevance, and contextual disconnection.

AN OLD MOTTO WITH NEW SIGNIFICANCE.

Multum in parvo, "Much in little," is a motto well adapted to the preacher of to-day. The people are impatient of long sermons. The problem is to put material which requires, to his mind, an hour for its presentation in form so as to express it to a congregation in twenty-five or thirty minutes. It is true he may refuse to do it, and determine to preach his sermon in full, whether men will "hear, or whether they will forbear;" but of what use is an hour's sermon, however learned or eloquent, if the people are not in church to hear it? The comfort he may derive from this method is that he has satisfied his sense of duty. This may be gratifying to himself, but is of no service to the people. He will be compelled to meet the conditions by preaching shorter sermons. He must learn the art of composition and put an hour's sermon within the thirty-minute limit.

Nor is it as difficult as it appears. At first it seems impossible to eliminate anything, but a little study will show much that is irrelevant, much that might be expressed more forcibly in fewer words, and some things that need not be uttered at all. The great laws of expression, whether by voice or pen, in order to effectiveness are found in the words "perspicuity" and "brevity." The latter is often helpful to the former, and many preachers would find their effectiveness greatly increased by adopting in all their public utterances the familiar motto "Much in little," much thought compressed within few words and requiring but a short time for its utterance.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT.

The Tomb of Osiris. It is well known to the students of ancient Egyptian literature that there are frequent references on the Egyptian monuments to the tomb of Osiris, or the "staircase of the great god." However, notwithstanding this fact, the name Osiris has long ago passed from the historical to the legendary, and so completely that we have long ceased to look for him among the prehistoric kings of Egypt, but have been accustomed to regard the name as that of one of the gods of that ancient land. The fact, however, that his tomb was often referred to in Egyptian literature would lend support to the view that Osiris was a human being, a mighty ruler, and a great hero, rather than a god or demigod. Indeed, Plutarch speaks of Osiris as the good and wise king of prehistoric Egypt who undertook to civilize, not only his own countrymen, but also those of other lands, and who at the instigation of his brother Set was brutally murdered and then thrown into the river and floated out into the great sea, whence he was delivered by his faithful consort Isis, who finally succeeded in burying his mutilated body.

A few weeks ago M. Amelineau made the startling announcement that he had discovered at Abydos the tomb of Osiris, in a small hill one hundred and eighty meters in length by one hundred and sixty in width and some seven or eight meters high. The tomb was rectangular in shape, having on the four sides no less than two hundred smaller chambers which without doubt were intended for the bodies of persons of high rank, those belonging to the royal court. The description as given by M. Amelineau is very interesting. Among other things he says: "The hill was composed of millions upon millions of small jars. . . . From the first day of the excavations in December last pieces of pottery of all shapes, entire or broken, were found bearing inscriptions written in hieroglyphic or hieratic signs." Many of these had the name of Osiris on them, while not a few mentioned the house of Osiris, that is, his final resting place or tomb.

Whether the enthusiastic Frenchman is correct in all his deductions is yet an open question. The sepulchral palaces of Abydos may still have many wonderful stories for us. But, whether or not the tomb of Osiris has been unearthed, the origin of Egyptian civilization must be sought at a time antedating the beginning of the first dynasty.

The Tomb of Menes. There is singular agreement among both ancient and modern writers on Egypt that Menes, the first reputed king of the first dynasty, was a real personage. This theory is supported by Manetho, the Turin papyrus, and the dynastic lists as found in the inscriptions at the temple of Abydos and elsewhere. Many

ancient authorities, like Herodotus and Josephus, not only make him the first mortal king of the land of the Pharaohs, but also the founder of Memphis. With these agree such modern scholars as Champollion, Bunsen, Lepsius, Brugsch, Ed. Meyer, Budge, and many others. Yet, notwithstanding this general consensus of opinion, there are those who regard Menes or Mena as a semimythical being, and who, like Maspero —one of the most distinguished Egyptologists—though admitting that Menes of Thinis may have existed, yet freely declare that his "pretensions to reality disappear and his personality is reduced to a cipher." Indeed, Maspero goes still farther when he asserts that Menes's "immediate successors have only a semblance of reality, such as he had;" and, again, "The two Thinite dynasties, in direct descent from the fabulous Menes, furnish, like this hero himself, only a tissue of romantic tales and miraculous legends in the place of history."

There is, however, no general agreement as to Egyptian chronology, and thus it is not easy to decide the exact date of Menes's reign. The first dynasty, according to Champollion, began with 5867 B. C.; according to Mariette, 5004 B. C.; Brugsch and Budge say that the reign of Menes began 4400 B. C.; and Erman brings it down to 3200 B. C. Though there has been a reasonable agreement as to the historical character of Menes and his immediate successors it must yet be granted that the veil of mystery, like a dark cloud, hangs over them; so that as careful a writer as Professor Petrie, of London, writing only three years ago, said, "The first three dynasties are a blank, as far as the monuments are concerned; they are as purely on a literary basis as the kings of Rome or the primeval kings of Ireland."

This gap or blank in the story of this ancient land is becoming gradually filled up. The past two years have furnished *data* direct from the monuments which no longer leave any doubt as to the historical character of the kings of the first dynasty. Strange enough, some of these discoveries were made by Professor Petrie himself, and that in less than one year after the publication of his first volume of the *History of Egypt*. It is no wonder, therefore, that he has been compelled to write: "Discoveries come so incessantly and the point of view so often changes in the ever-widening interests of Egyptian history that each year puts out of date a great part of what has been written. Any general work on Egyptian history or art needs revision every few months, so thickly have new subjects and new standpoints come before us lately."

Professor Petrie, while carrying on, in the winter of 1894–95, excavations at Negada on the west side of the Nile, not far from the site of ancient Thebes, brought to light a very large number of objects, different in many regards from what had been found before. Though they were evidently very ancient he could not classify them, and thus he concluded that they had been imported into Egypt, perhaps from Libya. While these antiquities were studied by those versed in archæology, and while the learned were indulging in various speculations as to their

origin and date, M. de Morgan made another most valuable discovery at Negada. He came across a royal tomb with precisely the same kind of pottery, slate tablets, and other objects as those found by Petrie two years before. There were, however, in this tomb other antiquities dissimilar to those found by Petrie, but very similar to the ones discovered by Amelineau in the "tomb of Osiris" at Abydos. Some of the latter bore inscriptions, which very naturally were studied by the Egyptologists, among others by Dr. Sethe, of the University of Berlin, who "succeeded in identifying the names of the fifth, sixth, and seventh kings of the first Manethonian dynasty." Professor Borchardt, director of the German school at Cairo, in a learned article in *The Independent* calls this discovery of Dr. Sethe "an epoch-making discovery;" and well he may, for it brings us direct monumental evidence of three kings who had existed in that blank period mentioned by Petrie.

This discovery at Abydos, important as it was, has been surpassed by that at Negada, where, among other objects, was picked up a small ivory plate, richly carved with various scenes, and on which was inscribed the name of the monarch buried in that tomb. The syllabic value of these hieroglyphs designating the name is "Mn." Thus, it is quite evident that we have at last discovered the tomb of this ancient king. We may well imagine the joy which thrilled Professor Sayce's heart as he first had the opportunity of handling the bones of Menes.

This fortunate find will add materially to our knowledge of Egyptian civilization in the remotest past, for it certainly takes us back to the fifth millennium before Christ. Menes was not a barbarian, but a mighty ruler of a people acquainted not only with the art of writing, construction of buildings, and the manufacture of various articles in pottery and stone, but also with the finer works of the lapidary, carver, and goldsmith. Such perfection of workmanship proves clearly that Egyptian art did not begin with Menes, but that a long period of development had preceded such exquisite work. Dr. Borchardt well says that these various objects discovered in the tomb of Menes "show such a fixity of style, and at the same time such a freedom of execution, that no archæologist without the report of the excavator would dare to proclaim them the oldest dated works of Egyptian art." When we consider this perfection of art in the time of Menes we shall cease to scoff at the claims of Amelineau that he has discovered the tomb of Osiris himself, who lived so far back in the prehistoric ages as to be classed, not with mortals, but with the immortal gods. These mute testimonies from the distant past should teach the destructive critic not to be so sure that Moses and the Hebrews of his times were little more than barbarians.

Later Tombs. No sooner was the discovery of the tomb of Thothmes III made than another of still greater importance was announced by M. Loret, likewise at Thebes, namely, that of the sepulcher of Amenophis II, who lived about 1500 B. C. In a chamber on one side were the mummies of nine other kings, among them Amenophis III, Seti II, the

Pharaoh of the Exodus (?), Rameses IV, VI, and VIII. Near the entrance to Amenophis's tomb were found the bodies of a man, woman, and child, which were not mummified. This puzzles the Egyptologist. Is it possible that they were human sacrifices, intended as servants for the monarch in the lower world? The mummy of Amenophis II was in a perfect state of preservation. The decorations of the tomb were very perfect; indeed, the paintings were so fresh and bright as to make it almost incredible that they were executed more than three thousand years ago.

HOMMEL AND THE CRITICS.

The course of Professor Fritz Hommel has caused no little annoyance to the liberal wing of higher critics, whose organs have recently severely criticised this learned archæologist and Assyriologist. The immediate occasion for these unfriendly attacks upon the Munich professor was the publication of a book from his pen, which was rendered into English about a year ago. We refer to *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*. The English and American critics find, perhaps, more fault with the translation than they do with the original work. They accuse the translators of having introduced many terms of disparagement and offense, and of having applied the same gratuitously to certain scholars. In short, they charge that the translation very often does not reproduce the original. Not only are the translators accused of apparent dishonesty, in order to support the conservative critics, but also the officers of that venerable and respectable institution, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are made partners in crime. We had believed all along that the attacks were unfounded. It is therefore most gratifying that Professor Hommel has come out over his own signature, as follows:

"I have been greatly surprised to notice that some English critics of my book—for example, the much-respected Rev. Buchanan Gray, in the September issue of the *Expository Times*—have ascribed certain trivial differences between the English version and the German original to the arbitrary action of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

"To this I answer once for all that I read a clear revise of every sheet of the English translation, and that I possess a sufficient knowledge of English to warrant me fully in asserting that in no single instance has what I intended to say and to prove in my book failed to find its fitting and intended expression in the English translation.

"As for the trifling discrepancies discovered by my reviewers, they are of such a subordinate character that I consider it quite superfluous to go into them. When, for instance, in the Preface the words, '*Aufstellungen der sogenannten modernen Pentateuchkritik*,' 'assertions of the so-called modern critics of the Pentateuch,' were rendered 'cobweb theories of the so-called modern critics,' this slight alteration met with my full approval, since in the text of the book I myself have more than once referred to the theories of Wellhausen in similar drastic terms."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

HOW GERMAN WESLEYANS BECAME AMERICAN METHODISTS.

The Church has in many quarters heard Bishop Goodsell's stirring account of the grand union of Wesleyan Methodism in Germany with the Methodist Episcopal Church. The bishop has given us the incidents connected with the culmination of events, without assuming the attitude of an historian. In the case of the transfer of our work in the Italian army to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society the causes all lay on the surface, the chief one being that we had not the money nor the men to administer it. There was nothing marking the movement in the army that was not in accord with our economy ; there were no great underlying tendencies in either ourselves or the "Italian band" that would have rendered it difficult for us to follow up and develop that work. It was a simple case of handing over to a sister society work which we could not do, but which the Wesleyan Society judged itself well equipped and able to perform.

In the case of the amalgamation of the Wesleyan work of Germany with ours, however, the transfer was based on a history. It was the outgrowth of tendencies which had been long in operation. It was not because either our own or the Wesleyan work was not successful. German Wesleyanism had grown from 2 preachers in 1860 to 32 in 1889; from 200 members to 2,308; from 30 Sunday schools to 2,573; and its contributions had advanced from $120 to $11,850. It had, like our own work in Germany, exerted a great influence over the spiritual and intellectual life of the Lutheran churches, and it had fought as bravely and as successfully as ourselves the battle of religious liberty within the German empire. It was not a failure, but a great success. German Wesleyanism was also fundamentally orthodox. Whatever Methodism in any part of the world owes to the Moravians for its conception of Christian life can scarcely be more distinctly and definitely traced than can Methodist orthodoxy in doctrine be traced to Bengel. Perhaps far more than the edited theses of the Articles of the Church of England, John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*, which are practically Bengel's edited, have shaped the theological thought of the whole Methodism of the world. It may be that by the ordinary historian Bengel has scarcely been recognized as one of the founders of Methodism, but he has certainly given to it its type of exegesis. Wesleyan and American Methodism in Germany were therefore theologically one, and there was nothing in the type of religious life or biblical exposition in which the one antagonized the other. They thus had a common basis of unity as strong as that between British and American Methodism, so that these two things—the success of the Wesleyan missions and the

similarity of doctrinal and experimental thought and feeling—are not to be taken account of in this philosophical inquiry as to the causes of the union between the two Churches. All this had before been pointed out to British Methodism, and being merely negative in its character need scarcely have been traversed.

A writer in the *Methodist Recorder* for July, 1897, aimed to summarize the internal tendencies of the two Methodisms in Germany which resulted in their coalition. There is nothing new in what he stated, but it is forceful and pertinent, and as coming from a Wesleyan source is essentially of interest and possibly of profit to us, if restated. One of the tendencies there mentioned as trivial, compared with others pointed out, was the difference in the hymnology of the Wesleyan and American movements in Germany. The Wesleyans had not caught the quick musical movement of the more fugitive religious songs of the latter part of the century. The Wesleyan hymns had been translated, and the translations were admirably made for the Wesleyanism of Germany by Dr. Lyth; but the Sunday schools, the revival services, and the entire Church life of American Methodism in Germany were inspirited and molded by a talented musical writer, E. Gebhard, who composed or naturalized the same modern Church music which was quickening the pace in all religious campaigns in America. Gebhard did for the time and the conditions something like what Charles Wesley did for the original movement of Methodism. Not that it was stately, but that it was timely. Incidentally another fact is mentioned, that several of the leaders among the preachers of German Wesleyanism were by birth and training of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and naturally enough were disposed to "apply principles that were enunciated from different circumstances to their own." This, however, was but typical of the general influence exerted by the reflex tide of immigration of Germans from the Methodist churches of America on Germany itself. America, the writer says, has been a rich *Hinterland* to German American Methodism, from which it derived both men and money on a more liberal scale than was possible from England. All this, however, is merely incidental in the estimation of the writer whom we are following. He declares that from the first the American mission differed from the British mission "in two important respects, the *personnel* of its directors and the nature of its basis of operations." In evolving these points he pays a compliment to Dr. William Nast, a fellow-student of Strauss, converted in America, but returning to his native land, who became the chief agent in founding German Methodism. German Wesleyanism, on the contrary, had for its founder C. G. Müller, a stirring evangelist, and of thoroughgoing personal Christian experience, but untrained in the schools. Our writer says: "At the head of 'our work' during its first formative period was a peasant saint; at the head of the American work God put a scholar saint. Saints are saints; but for Church building give me Paul, who was Saul of the University of Tarsus, against all the untrained Galilean apostles of the Lord."

The next point of contrast he makes is that the American mission "has been a town mission overflowing into the country, and ours a country revival slowly battering the gates of the godless city. . . . Our work was for twenty or thirty years a kind of aftermath on the meadows of South German pietism; America found more virgin soil in the less religious North."

In stating the balance of advantage in favor of the American system being applied in Germany he says it is represented by two great ideas, decentralization and federation. He says, "If anywhere, then in Germany, the presiding elder has vindicated the institution of presbyterian episcopacy," which he thinks especially congenial to German presiding elders. As to the quantity and quality of liberty under the two systems, he frankly admits that the American form of what he calls "aggregative independence" is far more stimulating than the "English imperial system." He calls the American bishop an autocrat; but as he is nonresident on the Continent the presiding elder becomes an influential interpreter. Under the Wesleyan system, he says, "the English chairman is a resident proconsul without a linguistic buffer, but often with a linguistic hedge between him and his brethren." He does not quite think these things ought to count for much in Church organization, but admits that practically they do enter into the consideration.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF JAPAN.

What the religious future of Japan is to be seems to be a subject of very wide interest and some earnest discussion in that country. Mr. Arthur May Knapp in a recently published work, *Feudal and Modern Japan*, affirms that the Japanese nation will never become Christian, but that "religiously and politically Japan will remain the unconquered island realm." The Japan *Times* indorses this prediction, but the Rev. Mr. Snodgrass wants to know the reason why, and the Japan *Weekly Mail*, in an editorial, observes, "So do we. So does everybody." The article says that Mr. Knapp's prediction implies the victory of national prejudice over the forces of reason, and it does not believe that Japan's honor is concerned in upholding the cause of error. It says: "Political independence is a very fine thing, but moral independence is a much finer. . . . There are no distinctions of race where truth is concerned. If the truth is embodied in Christian doctrine Christian doctrine will win the day." It declares that it is historically false to say that Japan is religiously an unconquered realm. Japan was conquered by Buddhism twelve centuries ago, and Buddhism is an alien creed. The Buddhism that now sways Japan is no more indigenous than the doctrine of the Nazarene, and the acceptance of Buddhism puts Japan's nationalism to a strain far greater than its subjection to Christianity would. Christianity, the editor says, attempts no sacrifice of any national sentiment. It teaches, "Fear God. Honor the king." The *Mail* asserts that there was an emi-

nent prospect of Christianization of the whole people in the seventeenth century, but it does not follow, because those who accepted it were driven at the point of the sword to trample on the cross, that the present generation has inherited any such spirit of vicious fanaticism. It tells the people that the moral attitude of all should be one of frank inquiry, and that Japan cannot retire into a shell of self-complacency and close her ears to the echoes of the great controversy in which all the unlimited earnestness of the civilized world is engaged; and it concludes its able editorial by saying, "It is either pitiable bigotry or a most insulting libel to say that this country is beyond the reach of any religious influence coming from the West."

THE NEW POLICY.

Another word is in place about the policy of missionary reinforcement brought forward by Bishop Thoburn in the number for January, 1898; by Dr. Leonard in the May number; and in this department, November, 1896, and May, 1898. This proposal to send forward all duly qualified applicants to the field without regard to the condition of the missionary treasury, like every important change, ought to be duly considered before being adopted by any society. Yet there is something inspiring in it, something which challenges a vigorous faith and is calculated to kindle enthusiasm. The Baptist Missionary Union is looking this policy squarely in the face. In answer to the question why they do not send more men to the field when so many applicants are ready to go it replies that many of these are counseled not to go to the foreign field because of their impaired health, advanced years, or insufficient preparation. They say it is obligatory on them to care for men and women already on the field before increasing the number in the service. They are not willing to send them on special contributions given for that specific object unless these donations are not drawn from the usual contributions. They frankly challenge the churches to divide the responsibility with them, and to agree to send forward all approved candidates "in proportion as the permanent ratio of increase in funds will warrant," and they will place these candidates before the churches and appeal for special contributions to send them to the front, on these conditions. This is not a juggle of words. It contains a distinct assurance of desire to evolve some practical method to meet the providential fact of so many student volunteers and others offering themselves for foreign service. The Union will hold itself obligated to examine into the qualifications of all applicants presenting themselves, be these few or many. It will endeavor to judge of the divine call to this work in every case. Having to the best of their godly judgment enrolled such candidates as would seem adapted and qualified for foreign missionary work, they promise to put these specifically before the churches and to throw on the churches the responsibility of their remaining at home.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Max Reischle. Whatever one may think of the Ritschlian theology, taken as a whole, there can be no question that its adherents are firm believers in the supernatural character of Christianity. This is made very apparent in a recent pamphlet by Reischle entitled *Christenthum und Entwickelungsgedanke* (Christianity and the Evolutionary Theory), Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1898. The author discusses many vital questions in relation to Christ. He accepts without hesitation the development of the self-consciousness of Jesus, the only question in his mind being whether there was such a development during his public ministry. But the important point is whether the attainment of his self-consciousness is psychologically explicable. This Reischle denies, on the ground that the external conditions in which Jesus was placed do not account for his originality. For the peculiarity of his Messianic consciousness we have nothing analogous in ourselves. We are brought in Christ face to face with the inexplicable fact of his certainty of a special relationship to God. So also the appearance of Jesus in the world cannot be traced to any process of human generation. His capacities were such as to forbid this. It is indeed possible that God so planned the world that Jesus should appear at the appointed time by the operation of causes God placed in the world; but this is a mere possibility, and it is equally possible that we have in Jesus something not posited by God in the original plan of the world. Such a possibility is not excluded by the doctrine of the conservation of energy, which is confined to the physical realm, is a postulate, and is not without further ado to be extended into the realm of mind. Equally true is it that in the Old Testament prophets we have an enlightenment which, indeed, is not without its connection with the religious views of their times, but which those views cannot account for. So also the individual Christian life is a growth, a development; but, whatever may be the forces which human aid can afford in bringing one under the influence of the Gospel, it is only through Christ that one becomes a Christian, and how this process is accomplished we do not know. Yet it is not the inexplicable character of this new life which makes us certain that it is of God, but the contents of the same. We experience through Christ a qualitatively different tendency of mind and heart in comparison with that which we receive from our relation to the world, and as a result of our own impulses and inclination. Such a change is the conversion of a human being, the new birth, the creation of a new life by the power of God. The whole process of attaining and developing this new life is, however, by the realization of our eternal, divinely appointed destiny, by the progressive development of a

divine purpose as it relates to man—even God's plan of salvation for the believer. So the conclusion of Reischle is that if the teleological idea is made prominent we can utilize the evolutionary theory; but that if it be ignored it is incapable of explaining the facts of the Christian religion, and hence must be abandoned.

F. C. Krarup. The Danes are furnishing some of the world's best thinkers, as witness Harold Höffding. In Krarup Denmark has another good representative, though his views are diametrically opposed in important respects to those of Höffding. He antagonizes all those systems of ethics which attempt to prove that a complete recognition of the ideal values of life is not dependent upon religious presuppositions, and holds that no progress can be made in ethical theory which is not based on religion. His views on these subjects have recently been translated into German, in a book entitled *Grundriss der christlichen Ethik* (Outlines of Christian Ethics), Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. It is a peculiarity of his opinions that in the discussion of ethical problems he regards it unnecessary to assume or to establish any definite theory relative to the freedom of the will. He affirms that the theoretical investigation of the problem of the will belongs, not to ethics, but to metaphysics. Ethics is a practical science which needs only to hold fast to the freedom of choice as an actual fact. Nevertheless, the moral law points to a given reality in the sense that it presupposes the supersensuous nature of man. He admits that the moral law in and of itself needs no external support; but if the moral law is to be carried out in practice it must have the aid of an external authority. Morality can do nothing but make us sensible of our obligations, it can only command. Religion strengthens us for duty. But only an ethical religion in the highest sense can thus aid morality; and in Christianity we have such a religion, which furnishes us with the idea of the living God, the perfect personality, other than which the God of Christianity cannot be conceived. Still, the decisive point for the determination of what is good or bad is not to be sought in a relation to religion, but in a relation to the moral law. Krarup is certainly in error when he assumes that the moral law needs no reinforcements from without. That aside from any confessedly religious considerations the moral law is still binding upon some men is true; though it is uncertain whether they have as completely rid themselves of religious influences as they imagined. But, allow as we may the unaided force of the moral law, it lacks the energy necessary to impel men to action under all circumstances. Besides, the moral law receives its definite content in a large measure from religious beliefs. This is clear from the fact that the larger the place religion occupies in the mind of anyone the wider the scope of those things which are held to fall within the realm of the morally obligatory. Every phase of morality depends for its efficiency upon religion.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Evangelische Apologetik (Evangelical Apologetics). By E. G. Steude. Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1892. Perhaps there is no man in Germany to-day whose standing as an apologist is so high as that of Steude. For years he has, so far as we may judge by his published works, given almost exclusive attention to the apologetic side of theology. Particularly has he studied the metes and bounds and the best methods of apology. It is interesting, therefore, to note how he has proceeded in the work before us. He regards apologetics as a branch of practical theology, having for its purposes not so much the defense of Christianity as instruction in its defense. Apologetics teaches the science and art of apology. According to him the spirit and method of apology are to be gathered chiefly from the actual instances of attack and defense recorded in the New Testament. Judged by this standard it must neglect no kind of assault which is made upon Christianity, and must meet these assaults according to their own nature. It is demanded of apology that it be conducted in the spirit of love, truth, and joy. The one thing that apology has to demonstrate is that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, nothing more and nothing less. Having thus in the first eighty-two pages portrayed the specific task of apologetics, Steude proceeds in the next fifty-six pages to show how the objections and doubts concerning the divine sonship of Jesus can be met. Turning now to the more positive side of apologetics, he gives us forty-five pages to show that apology must produce the proof that through Jesus, and him only, the deepest needs of man are perfectly satisfied. At this point he takes up the essential points which he wishes to establish, and gives us a full discussion and demonstration of the sinlessness and resurrection of Jesus, of his miracles, and of the divine providence. He concludes with a comparison of Christianity and the historical religions, such as Buddhism and Mohammedanism, and of Christianity and modern proposed substitutes. There may be room for some difference of opinion as to whether Steude has everywhere pursued the climacteric course; but it is evident that he felt the necessity of getting the objections to Christianity out of the way before he undertook a setting forth of its essential elements and advantages. In other words, following a wise method, he has given us the negative side first, and the positive setting forth of Christian positions last. Had his object been to write a work on Christian evidences he would have carried out this idea with complete consistency. There was less necessity that he should do so in this work, whose principal purpose is to aid the reader in specific cases of difficulty, rather than to form a continuous argument. It is worthy of note that Balfour in his powerful work on *The Foundations of Belief* also begins with the consideration of the arguments which are to be offered on the negative side. The advantages of this method will commend it more and more to writers on evidences.

Luther's "heiliges" Leben und "heiliger" Tod (Luther's "Saintly" Life and "Saintly" Death). By J. A. Kleis (from the Norwegian of J. Olaf). Mainz, F. Kirchheim, 1896. We introduce this book, not for its worth, but to illustrate the tactics of certain Roman Catholic controversialists against Protestantism. Their weapon is slander of the dead, who cannot answer back. We have said before that the slander of the dead should be more severely punishable by law than slander of the living. The frequency and effrontery with which Romanist writers falsify the facts of Luther's life demand rebuke. The decent, truth-loving portion of the Roman Catholic Church should stamp out such a method of warfare, which can work only harm to their own cause. The book under consideration trifles with the character of Luther by the very word "saintly," which is used ironically. We are the slowest of all to defend all that Luther thought and expressed, whether by word or act. Some of his utterances are certainly to be regretted, as when he tolerated the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. But it has become customary in the last few years for Roman Catholic writers to defy all honor and truth in their attempt to defame the character of the great leader of the German Reformation. This book, for example, accuses Luther of being a cynic, a hypocrite, a victim of drunkenness, and a user of obscene language; of having consented in one of his sermons to the right of a wife to break her marriage vows; and of being the father of a child born to Catharine von Bora fourteen days after her marriage to Luther. To this latter accusation belongs not even the appearance of truth; for there was no child born to Catharine von Bora under the circumstances thus described. Kleis accuses Luther of saying that a good priest must have a handsome appearance, to please womanly taste. What Luther did say was that six things belong to the preacher whom the world approves: 1. That he be learned; 2. That he be a good speaker; 3. That he be eloquent; 4. That he be a handsome person whom the girls and young ladies may be fond of; 5. That he take no money, but that he be a free giver; 6. That he speak what people gladly hear. This is a fair sample of Kleis's historical method. Luther describes what the world likes in a preacher; Kleis ascribes the ideal to Luther himself. Luther was perhaps coarse at times, as judged by our standards, but he was not an impure man. The coarseness he did exhibit should be judged, not by the standards of to-day, but by those which prevailed in his own time. This would cast no very pleasing light upon the influence of Romanism during the thousand years when it held sole supremacy over the continent of Europe. One of the worst features of Kleis's case is that he published this work after the discovery was announced that the famous "report of a citizen of Mansfield," relative to Luther's death, was written by the Romanist apothecary Johann Landau, who was a witness of Luther's decease, and whose testimony proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that Luther did not commit suicide, but died a natural death, as is the usual record of Church history.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Young Men's League of the German State Church. The young people's movement has not been confined to America, although it has here attained its most phenomenal success. As in everything else in Germany, so in the work among Christian young people there is a sad division of the forces. But now there are propositions to change the methods of the particular organizations mentioned above. Hitherto the principal feature of the League has been scriptural study. Other features have not been neglected—as the social, literary, gymnastic—but that which has attracted the majority of the youth to membership and cooperation has been Bible study of a directly religious kind. Now this organization is about fifty years old, and has about seventy thousand young men in its ranks—a small per cent of all the German young men, indeed, yet most of the growth has been in the last two years. It should be noted that if this were a mixed league of young men and young women there would probably be about four hundred thousand instead of seventy thousand members. So that in point of membership it is not insignificant, especially as the ages range from fourteen to twenty. The proposition for new methods is that, instead of making the religious element so prominent, the more secular phases should be emphasized, in the hope of attracting larger numbers of young men; and the present method is criticised as too pietistic. Some of the best friends of the League admit that the formula by which its work is expressed by so many, "The evangelization of young men by converted young men," is too religiously zealous. If there is anything that the average German State Church member fears it is over-zeal in the cause of Christ. Still, these friends of present methods point out that in a State Church there must be something to gratify the social-religious instincts, that its Bible studies are more largely attended than any other exercises of the League, and that, though some so conduct these exercises as to make them wearisome, experience has proved it more easy to interest young men in Bible study than in any other form of instruction.

Condition and Activity of the Waldenses in Italy. While up to 1848 the Waldenses were barely tolerated, from that time to this they have been aggressively at work spreading the Gospel in Italy. In 1896 they had 5,419 *bona fide* church members, with congregations in various places ranging in attendance from fifty to two hundred. They have a standing committee on evangelization which controls the establishment of new churches and stations, the former of which in 1896 numbered forty-nine, while of the latter there were forty-three. Their method of work is to send a colporteur to a place, who sees that the Bibles distributed are also read. When in any locality a few desire to become members of the Waldensian Church the committee sends evangelists who with primitive simplicity propagate the Gospel. Before being received into the Church

each person must take a catechetical course. When the number of genuine members reaches thirty the "station" is transformed into a church congregation with an ordained pastor. They also employ as agencies Sunday and day and night schools. It is a singular fact that Sicily is the most successful field for Waldensian evangelistic endeavor.

The Woman Question in Germany. In appearance this question is somewhat different in Germany from what it is in this country, though it is essentially the same. The leaders in the Church have taken it up in earnest. They feel that the "emancipation" of woman is bound to come, and it is merely a question whether atheistic or materialistic principles shall control the movement, or whether it shall be guided by Christians. At the recent twenty-ninth congress for Inner Missions, held in Bremen, the question received thorough treatment. It was proposed to pass a resolution which should be the deathblow to female "emancipation." But the wiser heads plainly see that no resolution that any body of men can pass will check that movement. Against the proposition, also, the point was made that such a resolution would have one of two effects on the Christian women who are engaged in the movement, either one of which would be dangerous. If it succeeded in persuading the Christian women to withdraw from the movement it would unquestionably leave it to take a purely antichristian direction. If, on the other hand, the effect should be, as it might, to alienate the Christian emancipationists from the Church it would be just as bad. The discussion brought out repeatedly the admission that the Gospel does not offer any principle opposed to the demands of those engaged in the movement, but that it is as possible as it is necessary to give the movement a Christian character.

The German Inner Mission and the Work among Seamen. It is interesting to know that although this work has been successful only since 1884 its beginnings were made as early as 1844, and continued—though in a disconnected way—in 1849, 1850, 1854, and 1867, after which there was almost nothing attempted for about seventeen years. In 1884 the mission to the German seamen of Scotland was established, and in 1885 a similar mission for England and Wales. These were united in 1889. In the same year a book for private devotions, to be used by seamen, was published. Missions were opened in Scandinavia in 1885; in Holland and Genoa, Italy, in 1892; and in Shanghai, China, in 1895. The present emperor has been one of the warmest friends of this work, and by his consent Prince Henry, who is at the head of the German navy, undertook the protectorate of the entire work. Perhaps to Pastor Harms, of Sunderland, more than any other belongs the credit of furthering this excellent cause, which has now grown to such proportions that at the recent twenty-ninth general congress for Inner Missions it was made one of the three principal topics for consideration.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In the contention of the nations for the ownership of the East the United States for the first time in its history now appears to have become a serious participant. For this reason the reader of current periodical literature will be particularly attracted to the article of Henry M. Stanley, M.P., on the influence of Great Britain in Asia and the present jeopardy to peace, as published in the *Nineteenth Century* for June. This article, which he entitles "'Splendid Isolation,' or What?" is a vigorous protest against the supineness of England in regard to Eastern matters, and an unexpressed wish for the increase of British authority throughout oriental territory. "Take any recent question—Armenia, Turkey, Crete, or Greece"—he says, "and note the effect of our isolation. We succeeded in nothing that concerned either of them. The massacres of Armenia continued in spite of our protests and Guildhall warnings. Turkey was encouraged and upheld in its contumacy. King George persevered in his foolish enterprise despite friendly advice. The Cretan question is not yet settled. The Dual Alliance professed to see a selfish design in all that we proposed; the Triple Alliance assumed the indifferent rôle and said, 'The whole Eastern question was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.' The threat of Russia to meet coercive measures toward Turkey with force paralyzed us, for behind Russia was France. We were indeed 'splendidly isolated.'" Of the contest of the European nations for a partition in China Mr. Stanley has also something to say, nor is it to the credit of his own government. He writes: "I regard Russia's acquisition of the main bulk of China as beyond our power—in our splendid isolation—to prevent, and have no doubt that France, who is to-day as near to the Upper Yangtse as Shinking is to Peking, will acquire the possession of the upper valley of the great river. When Russia will have made the Celestials subservient to her in the manner she has made the Tartars of the Eastern and Western steppes, and has by their help reached her southerly goal and united her forces with those of France, what will happen to the China bordering on the Eastern and Yellow seas? I think Germany should be as interested in this question as we are." France, also, in Africa, "insouciant and reckless" has "planted herself without right or logical reason" directly in the path of Great Britain. As to an Anglo-Saxon Alliance Mr. Stanley thinks that though there will always be a moral union "it will take many years of strenuous striving to make it a real one." Or, still more strongly expressing his conviction, he declares that "ages may elapse" before the English "ideal of inseparable brotherhood with America can become a solid and enduring reality." And, as for permanent harmony

between the nations, his solution is in these words: "The Triple Alliance, supported by the military and naval strength of Great Britain, backed by the moral support of the United States, and by the military and naval forces of Japan, appears to me the only way by which the peace of the world can be secured, this nightmare of war dispelled, and this eternal agitation effectually stopped." Or, otherwise, so far at least as England is concerned, the alternatives are before her of "an active and obstinate resistance to the Dual Alliance or a groveling quiescence with curtailment of empire and decline of power." He who would read the signs of the times cannot pass by this semi-prophetic paper of the distinguished explorer and member of Parliament.

Against the pessimistic cry that the pulpit has entered upon its decline and tends to final decay Dr. N. D. Hillis, of Chicago, enters his protest in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July. His article is entitled "Place of the Pulpit in Modern Life and Thought." Though it has come to pass that "the very atmosphere of life is so charged with information as almost to compel wisdom in the intelligent and forbid illiteracy in the stupid," yet men of thought "are not troubled lest some agency arise to dispossess the pulpit." Preaching, Dr. Hillis affirms, is "man-making, man-mending, and character-building." Its genius is "truth in personality." Entering into "the secret holy of holies," where travel, books, friends, and occupation may not come, it plies men with "the eternal principles of duty and destiny, so as to give warmth to the frigid, wings to the dull and low-flying, clarity to reason, accuracy to moral judgment, force to aspiration, and freedom to faith." Hence the ministry is not an easy profession. No other makes so many and severe demands. "The pew of to-day," writes Dr. Hillis, "is wiser than the pulpit of yesterday. The time has come when the preacher must be a universal scholar. He must make himself an expert in social reform; master the facts as to illiteracy, vice, and crime; study the tenement house question, [and also] all social movements in connection with settlements and methods of Christian work. He must carry his studies into physiology and hygiene, to note how low and abnormal physical conditions affect the conscience and the spiritual state. Giving up the theological reading with which the clergymen of a former generation have made the people acquainted, he must study history, politics, the rise of law and free institutions, the movements of art, the history of philosophy, and, above all else, no facts in connection with science must be permitted to escape his notice. For his illustrations he must draw from the sciences of stars and stones and animals and plants. To keep step with his work he must read each month some review that deals with the general plans, . . . the review upon finance, upon reform, upon labor, upon education, upon his own special problems, not forgetting the foreign quarterlies and magazines. In addition to all this there

will be at least a hundred volumes each year that he must go through thoroughly, if possible, or hurriedly, if crowded." Nor is this all. But the public duties and demands upon the minister, as shown by Dr. Hillis, are immeasurably taxing. Well may one shrink uncalled from such charges. Yet for the called there is no profession offering "such liberty and personal freedom." And for such there can be nothing but a hearing, though they illustrate but feebly the many excellencies that mark the pulpit work of the distinguished writer of this article.

FICTION, shows the *Edinburgh Review* for April, has of late been employed by American writers to portray the American character. In a running analysis which is most entertaining the writer gives the outline of various works of romance which have been published since 1882. Fifteen books of the sort are enumerated and estimated under the general title of "Novels of American Life." Miss Wilkins, the article says, "sometimes recalls Hawthorne." She has "studied her New England folk to the marrow of their bones, and she portrays them, as an artist should, unsparingly, yet lovingly—perhaps, in her artist's desire for unity of effect, insisting almost too much upon certain leading qualities. Yet the essential features of her New England folk are not merely local; one recognizes behind the New England farmer that hard foundation upon which is built up the most composite of all types—the modern American. Will and conscience are the qualities which dominate in her stories like passions; they run to tragic or grotesque excesses, as in other races love or the fighting instinct will do; they merge into one another, and the passion for self-assertion becomes only another form of dogged resolution in carrying out a purely individual conception of duty." *Illumination, or, The Damnation of Theron Ware*, by Harold Frederic, is, in the judgment of the reviewer, "a great novel"—an estimate which may be most rigorously disputed, not only on grounds of moral teaching but also for defectiveness of plot, untruthfulness to life, and distortion of Methodism. James Lane Allen's *Choir Invisible* is described by the reviewer as "a beautiful work." Its true interest lies in its Kentucky background. "It is in a singular style that Mr. Allen sets out his pictures—singular, deliberate, perhaps overladen with a too obvious pomp of epithet—but it suggests no less a master than Chateaubriand." As for Stephen Crane the article regards with limitations his youthful and ambitious genius. After quoting one of his lurid battle narrations it says: "Mr. Crane's description of war does not convince like Mr. Kipling's, in so far as it describes the emotions; it shows entirely false beside what we should take for the touchstone in these matters—Sir Charles Napier's account of his experiences at Corunna. In so far as it aims at rendering external impressions of sight, it seems to us radically bad art, because it tries to do with words what should be done with lines and colors. It may be confidently said that

no one unacquainted with the methods of modern impressionist art on canvas will see the pictures that Mr. Crane is trying to convey; and those who are acquainted with them will see that he sees the thing, not directly, but, as it were, translated into paint." The conclusion of the whole article, as regards the school of American novelists, is that it is "rich in widely varied excellence of matter and widely varied range of interest."

The following table of contents is found in the *New World* for June: "Christianity as the Future Religion of India," by Protap Chunder Mozoomdar; "Solomon in Tradition and in Fact," by B. W. Bacon; "Aspects of Personality," by Frederic Gill; "The Genesis of the Occidental Nature-Sense," by H. S. Nash; "Revelation and Discovery," by C. E. St. John; "A New Form of Theism," by J. E. Russell; "Joseph Henry Allen," by J. W. Chadwick; "The True History of the Reign of Nero," by C. P. Parker; "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Homeric Poems," by Arthur Fairbanks. The writer of the first article will not venture to say what the name of India's coming religion will be. "But one thing is sure: this future religion of India, this fusion of Hinduism and Christianity, will have one substance, one spirit, one life, one destiny, one God." The third article treats of personality in the universe, in history, and in the deity. The fifth article is based upon nine books of recent issue, treating of various phases of theological thought. It is keenly discriminating between discovery and revelation. "While all honor is given to our great discoverers of truth, let it be understood by all men that when every land has been accurately mapped, and its creatures described; when every star has been numbered and its elements defined; when every principle of science has been formulated, and every system of philosophy has been heard and considered, even then all this can stand but for foundations, beginnings of the guidance we need for the eternal lives we must live. Thus is Christianity, man's use of discovery, a broader thing than science, man's formulating of the revealed thinking of God." The eighth article is evidently suggested by *Quo Vadis*, and in running story outlines the career of Nero. The writer of the final article believes that the significance of sacrifice in the Homeric poems is not only "political," but also expressive of "man's obedience to the divine authority, his sense of dependence on the divine power, and his trust in the favor of his God."

Readers of the *Chautauquan* must appreciate from month to month its variety and sparkle. The June number is inferior to none of its predecessors. It includes illustrated articles on "The Principal Cities of Holland," "The Beauty of Early Wild Flowers," "The United States and Hawaii. II," and "The Navy of the United States." Besides these there is much more of value which may not be mentioned.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Studies in Comparative Theology. By Rev. GEORGE H. TREVER, Ph.D., D.D. 12mo, pp. 432. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.20.

To President Warren, of Boston University, the author gratefully and affectionately dedicates these six lectures which were delivered before the students of Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. The range and order of the lectures are indicated in their titles: "The Vedic Religion and Primitive Revelation," "The Candle of Asia and the Sun of the World," "Zoroaster and Moses," "The Religion of Abraham's Boyhood Home," "The Sphinx's Cry for Light," and "The Voice of the Gospel to Other Religions." The book is replete with well-digested information and grows in interest to the last chapter, which is the best, the chapter one should read if he had time for only one. The first lecture opens thus: "When Anglo-Saxon and Hindu met in conflict on India's coral strand it was one of the most dramatic and thrilling scenes in history. . . . It was brother meeting brother after years of separation, far from the old homestead—years in which no tidings of either had reached the other. What! the little, subtle, mystical, dreamy Hindu, the brother of the stalwart, practical Englishman? How do we know this? India herself could never tell us so by any written history, for she has none. The Chinese have annals running back thousands of years; the Egyptians had the veritable scribbler's itch, writing the most trivial events of daily life on imperishable stone; but the Hindu seems to have been utterly deficient in the historic sense. . . . The scholar of that torrid clime dreams away his hours in the midst of intellectual problems. He labors hard to measure the immeasurable, to circumscribe the absolute. Compared with such recondite speculations the common affairs of life are mere bits of foam or ripples on the boundless ocean. The most unhistorical people on earth, they cared more for the grammatical minutiæ of their sacred books, or for the subtleties of metaphysics, than for their whole past history. Therefore, historically considered, the literature of India is a blank and barren waste. . . . The only date in its entire history of which we can be sure is found by the help of the Greeks. . . . How then do we know that Hindu and Englishman are close blood relations? How? . . . Suppose you are a Sanskrit scholar. You are also familiar with the tongue of ancient Persia, with the Greek, Latin, old Irish, and Slavonic. You are reading one of these old Hindu books. You come across the Sanskrit word *dama*, meaning house. You say, 'Why, that is almost the same as the old Persian word for house.' Yes, and the Greek is *domos*, and the Latin *domus*, and the Slavonic is *domu*, and in our English we have

domestic or household affairs. Would not that come almost as a revelation to you? You read farther, and you find similar resemblances in the words for father, mother, brother, daughter, boat, roof, door, horse, ox, cow, and a score of other words. Then you perceive that the grammatical constructions also show similar likenesses. The conviction is forced upon you, 'Certainly these languages must be daughters of one mother tongue.' These words have been compared to the watchwords of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger, and whether he answer with the lips of a Greek, German, Englishman, Roman, old Persian, Irishman, or Hindu, we see that he belongs to our own company. As early as 3000 B. C., when Chaldæa and Egypt are still in early youth, we see a people dwelling in western Asia or eastern Europe whom modern science calls Aryans, and who spoke that primitive mother tongue." Various bands from this ancient people emigrated from time to time into many lands and poured their blood into the veins of the peoples who retain in speech many words which have roots in one common primitive language. The author then proceeds to speak of the Hindu branch of that ancient family, and to study its religion as set forth in the four Vedas, the Rig, the Sama, the Yajur, and the Atharva. Watching those Vedic men of the ancient days worshiping their divinities, he says: "Could the modern mind, so sobered and saddened by its long search after truth, so sick of religious controversy as to be almost in fear of religion itself, and almost to feel skeptical of the worth and wisdom of humanity—could such a mind get a living picture of that ancient age, it would seem like a vision of a sweet and winsome childhood. We hear the Vedic man speak of his gods with refreshing simplicity. He strongly believes in the Golden Rule, at any rate as applied to Deity. One poet courageously tells Agni, the god of fire, that if he, the bard, were god, he would be the more generous deity of the two. 'Wert thou a mortal and I an immortal, I would not abandon thee to malediction and misery. My worshipers should be neither poor, nor distressed, nor wretched.' Another says to his deity, 'Were I lord over as much as thou, I would not leave a man that praised me to want.' This is a very common human weakness. Many a person acts to-day as if he thought he could be a better deity than the Almighty, only he has not the courage so frankly to say so." These protests are less reverent than the tombstone inscription:

> "Here lie I, Martin Elginbrod,
> Have mercy on my soul, Lord God;
> As I would do, were I Lord God,
> And thou wert Martin Elginbrod."

Writing of the spirit manifested by Paul in his sermon to the Athenians, the author says: "The Gospel sees in religion, of whatever type, not a meaningless freak of nature, which, by the way, is but another expression for the almost profane phrase, 'caprice of God.' In the religious soul the Gospel sees not a tormented Tantalus, deluded and mocked in

his torture; in religion it sees not something imposed from without upon the man by shrewd priest or selfish king; not some fungus growth foreign to his nature, which the sharp knife of culture will in time cut away; not a baseless phantom of his childish, wandering fancy; but the expression rather of innate reason, of spiritual, heavenly intuitions; of the natural hunger of the human heart for the divine; of an indefinable restlessness of the soul half blinded and entangled, and sometimes almost crushed by the finite; a sort of homesickness for the eternal; an incessant searching of the heart for more than the finite can give. To those who say with Lucretius, 'Fear created the gods;' to those who would reply, 'Nay, it is the tendency of human nature to attribute soul to anything that moves itself;' to those who shout, 'Not so, it is reverence for dead ancestors and awe of shadows and ghosts;' to those who exclaim, 'None of these alone accounts for religion, but all of them together have begotten it—fear, joy, illusion, nocturnal visions, movements of rivers, trees, or stars'—to all the Gospel says, Away with your shallow sophistries! Religion is the spontaneous expression of the innate divine in man; the chief mark which distinguishes him from the brute. He is a religious being for the same reason that he is a thinking being, an æsthetic being, a social being, a being with loves and hates, appetites and aspirations, conscience and will. He is naturally religious simply because he has a religious nature given him by God. Out of the living heart of human nature have rolled all the expressions of religious faith." On the question what, at bottom, religion is, the author writes: "It has been defined by different thinkers, in different ages, from varying points of view, and the result seems to be a puzzling mass of conflicting statements. But whether we define it with Seneca as 'to know God and imitate him,' or with Cicero as 'reverence before the gods;' with Kant as 'knowledge of our duties as divine commands;' with Matthew Arnold as 'morality touched with emotion,' or with Drummond as 'morality touched by life;' with Hegel, as 'knowledge acquired by the finite spirit of its essence as absolute spirit'—a most profound statement; with Schleiermacher, as 'the sense of absolute dependence;' with Huxley, as 'reverence and love for the ethical ideal and the desire to realize that ideal in life;' with Gruppe, as 'belief in a state or in a being which, properly speaking, lies outside the sphere of human striving and attainment, but which can be brought into this sphere in a particular way, namely, by sacrifices, ceremonies, prayers, penances, and self-denial;' with Carlyle, as 'the thing a man does practically believe, the thing a man does practically lay to heart and know for certain concerning his vital relations to this mysterious universe and his duty and destiny therein;' with Max Müller, as 'the faculty for the perception of the infinite, the struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the infinite, the love of God;' or, better than all, with Reville, as 'the determination of human life by the sentiment of a bond uniting the human mind

to that mysterious mind whose domination of the world and of itself recognizes, and to whom it delights in feeling itself united'—define religion as we may, there is one underlying aim, not always present clearly to consciousness, but none the less there, which all must recognize as its inmost essence, . . . and that underlying intent is some sort of union and fellowship with the Divine." The voice of the Gospel to other religions is summed up as being "a voice of sympathy for those who hold them, of sympathy for deep religiousness wherever found; of sympathy for the underlying intent of all religion; of sympathy and recognition for whatever truth they contain. But it is also a voice of condemnation for their one-sided character, for their corruption, their lack of strong moral power and inability to bring universal man into a brotherly fellowship, yet a voice of heavenly interpretation and divine fulfillment in Jesus Christ the Son of God and Son of man, the Redeemer of the world." Dr. Trever's lectures make an excellent and scholarly book, containing in itself the substance and values of many books. It is well calculated to inform, broaden, and clarify the minds of those who read it, and is fitted to engage the interest of clergy and laity.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Volume I, A—Feasts. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the Assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. SWETE, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Imperial 8vo, pp. 864. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. In four Volumes. Price, per Volume, cloth, $6; half morocco, $8.

So far as the need of this voluminous work and the further numbers of the series is concerned there will probably be little difference of judgment. No pretentious issue of the sort has, we believe, been attempted in recent years. Yet the steady progress in theological investigation prosecuted by many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic would seem to call for a new venture in this department of scriptural comment. The completion of the unique Polychrome Bible, the issue of improved editions of the word for home and Sabbath school use, and the publication of commentaries and kindred helps to the study of God's truth are all illustrations of the prevalent activity in the field of biblical study, and certainly pave the way for a dictionary such as is now under review. Given then the timeliness of the issue, and the reader will rejoice in the spirit of candid scholarship which pervades the work. Apparently without concessions to that ultra-conservative sentiment which seeks to safeguard the Scripture from the fullest scrutiny, and also without violent concessions to advanced iconoclastic scholarship, the disposition seems to be to present impartially the newest findings of theology and all associated departments, so far as they have place in a Bible dictionary. The volume cannot, of course, from its encyclopedic nature be here considered in specific detail, but only as to the general principles

which have governed its construction. These are announced in its Preface to be "fullness," "trustworthiness," and "accessibility." To set forth the idea of the editors in these respects we may further quote their explanations. As to fullness they declare: "In a dictionary of the Bible one expects that the words occurring in the Bible, and which do not explain themselves, will receive some explanation. The present *Dictionary* more nearly meets that expectation than any dictionary that has hitherto been published. Articles have been written on the names of all persons and places; on the antiquities and archæology of the Bible; on its ethnology, geology, and natural history; on biblical theology and ethic; and even on the obsolete or archaic words occurring in the English versions." This means that the dictionary is not a handbook, which may be carried under the arm, but a production that in amplitude measures up to the requirements of an exacting age. Concerning the trustworthiness of the articles inserted in the *Dictionary* the editors say: "The names of the authors are appended to their articles, except where the article is very brief and of minor importance; and these names are the best guarantee that the work may be relied on. So far as could be ascertained those authors were chosen for the various subjects who had made a special study of that subject, and might be able to speak with authority upon it. Then, in addition to the work of the editor and his assistant, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three distinguished scholars whose names are found on the title-page." And, finally, as to "accessibility" the editors set forth at length in the Preface the method of arrangement they have followed; the principles of black-lettering and cross-reference, of the spelling and derivation of proper names, and of abbreviations which are observed; and the superiority of the maps and illustrations which have been inserted. Two peculiarities in the nature of criticism upon a work of rare excellence may briefly be suggested. One is the neglect, for which no sufficient reason can be conceived, to insert the pronunciation of words. While marks are employed to show the quantity of certain vowels there is no attempt whatever to indicate the syllables upon which the accent should fall. Yet this is a feature we have been accustomed to find in Bible dictionaries far less presuming and up to the times; and because of the absolute need of such marks of accentuation, even for the satisfaction of the thorough scholar, the omission cannot but be regarded as a blemish. Nor are we without surprise at the scant recognition that is given to American scholarship. While we recognize the fact that the *Dictionary* is originally of European origin, nevertheless a judicious employment of American contributors would certainly have tended to make the issue popular in the American market. Yet out of one hundred and thirty-five distinguished scholars who contribute to the volume now under notice but eleven are American. The copious dictionary of Dr. William Smith, revised by Professor Hackett thirty years since, did better than this, its first volume, for illustration, containing the

work of twenty-nine American authors as against that of sixty-eight European. The disparity in the present instance is therefore more noticeable and not particularly complimentary to American learning. The Atlantic is not so wide, nor our biblical students so unknown to fame, that in the original preparation of the work by European editors and publishers the sterling scholarship of the New World should not have been utilized. Yet in this respect we are long-suffering. The demand for the work will doubtless prove to be wide, since it is one whose many merits will commend it to all thorough students of the Scripture.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Analytics of Literature. A Manual for the Objective Study of English Prose and Poetry. By L. A. SHERMAN, Professor of English Literature in the University of Nebraska. 12mo, pp. 468. Boston: Ginn & Co. Price, cloth, $1.40.

A dozen years ago Professor Sherman, convinced that an objective method is best for teaching English literature, found a substantial principle on which to base a system of analysis, and began to test his plan upon classes in the advanced study of prose authors. Results of the experiment were surprising both with bright scholars and with dull. Students not only learned far more and became intensely interested, but in a few weeks radically altered their own styles, expressing themselves in strong, clear phrases and simple sentences. The objective method worked just as well or even better in the study of poetry. The immediate and extraordinary success of his plan settled him upon it, and led him to prepare this manual, which contains the full exposition and illustration of his method of instruction, a manual admirably adapted for individual use in the study of literature or cultivation of style, as well as for use as a text-book in the class room, for which last-named purpose it is one of the freshest and most thorough that we have knowledge of, leaving hardly anything to be desired by teacher or pupil. It is the extension of the experimental scientific method to the study of literature, as, twenty years ago, it began to be used in the study of physics and chemistry, and afterward in history, mathematics, and economics. Nowadays students, instead of being set to memorizing observations from text-books about literature or learning the biography of the author, are sent to the library to make acquaintance with the book itself at first hand. The literature itself is put into their hands, and they are taught to analyze, criticise, understand, compare, and estimate it. They are furnished with grounds of judgment to make their criticism intelligent and confident, enabling them to discern and define an author's quality and power. To reach and engage the sensibilities of the student, to develop in him the power of independent observation and judgment, and to practice his powers upon literature studied objectively, are prime necessities. To accomplish these things is the object of this manual, which is not a

volume to be merely read, but to be thoroughly studied. The discussion in each chapter is a condensed lecture which may be expanded and elucidated by an instructor. Over a hundred pages of notes amplify numerous points of the discussion. Then follow fifteen pages of questions for an analytic study of Shakespeare's "Macbeth." A good index closes the book. The author thinks "the paramount evils of the day in cultured circles to be intellectualism and sentimentality, and that they can be reached and corrected only by the study of literature. The new psychology having discarded the use of 'mind' and 'soul' as designations of the conscious principle, Professor Sherman adopts in their stead the neutral, colorless 'ego.' Literature is the written thoughts and feelings of intelligent men and women arranged in a way which will give pleasure to the reader." As to form, it is divided into prose and poetry, but this general classification is a delusion and a snare, for much so-called poetry is prosaic, and some prose is highly poetic. The author describes the two great divisions as follows: "That which *informs*, coming from the intellect and going to the intellect, is prose; that which *moves*, coming from the heart and going to the heart, is poetry. De Quincey has well named the two departments respectively the Literature of Knowledge and the Literature of Power." Whoever masters this manual will not only learn how to study and appreciate literature, but will become intelligently acquainted, in sample, at least, with much of the best literature in prose and poetry. He will find here an analytical comparison of the literary styles of Mandeville, Chaucer, Latimer, Ascham, Spenser, Hooker, Hall, Sidney, Bacon, Barrow, Bunyan, Bolingbroke, Addison, Shaftesbury, Dryden, Johnson, Goldsmith, De Quincey, Macaulay, Newman, Channing, Emerson, Lowell, Edward Everett, C. C. Everett, General Grant, Bartol, Munger, Tennyson, Keats, Shelley, Browning, Wordsworth, Gladstone, Hawthorne, Holmes, Higginson, Howells, and others too numerous to mention. It is clear who most of modern poets impresses the author. He says that in Browning there arrived a second Shakespeare, but with no audience prepared at first to receive him. Forty years after his first reception seemed to have consigned him to oblivion he "is rediscovered as one of the world's great seers, hailed as the prophet of a new era, and vindicated as the chief poet of the century;" and "within the last ten years the once frequent girds at Browning have disappeared from public print. . . . The persuasion is abroad that this poet evinces the loftiest ideals yet revealed in our literature, as well as fulfills its long-delayed and often-repeated prophecy of power." Professor Sherman says that Browning hoped he might follow, at least afar off, in the footsteps of Shelley, whom he worshipfully called Sun-treader, but the years have shown that it is not Shelley but Browning that most superbly and sublimely treads the sun. "His genius is variously and completely dramatic; he treats with skill the most refractory as well as the most slender themes; we know of no penetration more lightning-like than his." The student of Browning may find much

help in this manual from the light thrown on such poems as "The Italian in England" and its companion piece, "The Englishman in Italy;" "My Last Duchess," a study of Italian character at its best of intellectual, but at its worst of spiritual, culture; "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came;" "Colombe's Birthway;" "Luria;" and "Mesmerism." He uses "Count Gismond" as a preeminent example of "Force;" it is so full of force that one cannot read it aloud and avoid using much energy and emphasis; it is so full of force that to read it aloud often breaks up the emotions of both reader and listener to the bottom. Of this poem, couched in language simple enough for a child, Professor Sherman says: "It reads at first like the stock juvenile romance whose end can be guessed from the beginning, and we hardly consent to be detained by it at all. But we catch the spirit, and the meaning, the ideals of truth which inspired Browning to write the poem, begin consciously to possess our minds. The power of innocence to proclaim itself from the astonished face of an orphan whom envy plots to crush is the first thing that kindles our enthusiasm. Count Gismond, who reads the innocence, divines the wickedness of Gauthier and the cousins, and comes forward as our proxy to defend the helpless, engages our sympathies yet more deeply. Then we note the like power in the heroine to read in turn a noble heart in Gismond's face, and her simple, but sublime faith,—

> 'I never met
> His face before, but at first view
> I felt quite sure that God had set
> Himself to Satan; who would spend
> A minute's mistrust on the end!'

No wonder that this unconscious confidence, which could look north, south, east, west, for her accusers, and watch her deliverer with unperturbed and even joyous gaze in his impatient preparation for the trial, changed his feeling from chivalrous pity to reverence and love. And last of all we are made to feel the power of truth in vanquishing conscious calumny and malice. Gauthier had been Gismond's peer, if he had had his quarrel just; but now his conscience and even the foolish women whom he serves despair of his success. The victory, indeed, was won in the magnificent defiance with which the poem comes to its climax. Had Gismond doubted, had she who gave him inspiration wavered, the combat might have been uncertain. Thus the simple poem presents to us lofty types of goodness, faith, and daring. . . . The transfiguring power of a holy, conscious, or rather unthinking and unconscious integrity, is the motive of the whole. This might have been treated sculpturally by representing the heroine at the moment of her unrealizing dismay, as Gismond with the 'clear great brow' and 'black full eye of scorn' strode forth to rescue. It might also have been embodied in a painting that should show the group the instant after Gismond's blow, while Gauthier stands appalled as at the voice of judgment, and the heroine looks abroad to know whether the lie dares yet to breathe." One of the most important

of duties, our author thinks, is to urge and teach men how to express what is in them. "There are great stores of spiritual strength and knowledge which, if made available, would do much toward elevating mankind to the spiritual life in a single century. There may well be more than one Bacon or Shakespeare in each generation who, knowing fresh secrets, lack the skill and inspiration to make them known to the world. The failure to discover a new mine is relatively an unimportant loss, but the permanent burial of an ultimate sentiment or principle in a brain that never spoke its thought or feeling may be an irreparable calamity. Even what we consider a small discovery of new truth may transform society and change the living of every one of us. The end of culture is not only to bring all men to the spiritual level, but to enable and embolden each to impart his unique contribution of spiritual inspiration to the rest." Speaking of the importance of literature and art to our nation as potent instruments of spiritual progress, the author writes: "In half a century we shall be the richest people in history. How shall we use our wealth, what shall we do with our leisure? The nation that cannot rise to the spiritual life when its leisure is achieved is doomed. We are coming inevitably to the final test. Shall we rise to the stage next higher? Once Athens, Rome, and Venice stood on the same plane, but they are gone. They prove their unfitness and are rotting out their punishment. Shall the same gangrene seize us? There are signs that our people are in hopeful soundness, but we have many alien elements to purify and sweeten. Every native and organic energy must be exercised if we are to save the whole body. The State (and the Church) must clearly find a way to open to all the influences of the highest and most helpful culture."

Emerson, and Other Essays. By JOHN JAY CHAPMAN. 12mo, pp. 247. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.25.

These essays have a bold and slashing freedom, because of which one has called the author a smasher of images. They speak with independence if not with consistency. We find in them a medley of opinions not harmonized. The seven subjects treated are: "A Study of Romeo," "Michael Angelo's Sonnets," "The Fourth Canto of Dante's Inferno," "Robert Browning," "Robert Louis Stevenson," "Walt Whitman," and "Emerson." Of Emerson much has been written, but nothing exactly like Mr. Chapman's long and vigorous essay. His ideas about Emerson are sampled in the following: "He was not engaged in teaching many things, but one thing—Courage;" "His works are all one single attack on the vice of the age, moral cowardice;" "A man takes up Emerson, tired and apathetic, but presently he feels himself growing heady and truculent, strengthened in his inmost vitality, surprised to find himself again master in his own house;" "Emerson's patriotism is the backbone of his significance. He came to his countrymen at a time when they lacked not thoughts but manliness." Emerson said: "Let us affront and reprimand the smooth mediocrity, the squalid contentment of the times. . . . If any man consider the present aspects of society he will see

the need of ethics. The sinew and heart of man seem to be drawn out, and we are become timorous, desponding whimperers." He said all the American geniuses "lacked nerve and dagger." Again he wrote, "In all my lectures I have taught one doctrine, namely, the infinitude of the private man." Emerson wants everyone "to be in his place a free and helpful man, a reformer, a benefactor, not content to slip along through the world like a footman or a spy, escaping by his nimbleness and apologies as many knocks as he can, but a brave and upright man who must find or cut a straight road to everything excellent in the earth, and not only go honorably himself, but make it easier for all who follow him to go in honor and with benefit." He says: "Books are the best things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. The one thing in the world, of value, is the active soul." "The universe does not attract us till it is housed in an individual." "A man, a personal ascendency, is the only great phenomenon." All who ever heard Emerson lecture recognize the justice of Lowell's description of an address at Harvard: "Emerson's oration was more disjointed than usual. It began nowhere, and ended everywhere, and yet, as always with that divine man, it left you feeling that something beautiful had passed that way, something more beautiful than anything else, like the rising and setting of stars. Every possible criticism might have been made on it but one—that it was not noble. There was a tone in it that awakened all elevating associations. He boggled, he lost his place, he had to put on his glasses; but it was as if a creature from some fairer world had lost his way in our fogs, and it was *our* fault, not his. It was chaotic, but it was all such stuff as stars are made of, and you couldn't help feeling that, if you waited a while, all that was nebulous would be whirled into planets, and would assume the mathematical gravity of system. All through it I felt something in me that cried, 'Ha! Ha!' to the sound of the trumpets." Some of Mr. Chapman's criticisms are these: "There is in Emerson's theory of the relations between the sexes neither good sense, nor manly feeling, nor sound psychology. It is a pure piece of dogmatism, and reminds us that he was bred to the priesthood." "His philosophy, which finds no room for the emotions, is a faithful exponent of his own and of the New England temperament, which distrusts and dreads the emotions. Regarded as a sole guide to life for a young person of strong conscience and undeveloped affections, his works might be harmful because of their unexampled power of purely intellectual stimulation." Emerson's passion for nature is called cold; "his temperature is below blood-heat, and his volume of poems stands on the shelf of English poets like the icy fish which in 'Caliban upon Setebos' is described as finding himself thrust into the warm ooze of an ocean not his own." *Per contra*, Emerson's "worship of the New England scenery amounts to a religion. His poems are utterly indigenous and sincere. They represent a civilization and a cli-

mate." "The Humble Bee" is his most exquisite lyric; the "Rhodora" and "Terminus" and a few others belong to that class of poetry which, like "Abou Ben Adhem," is poetry because it is the perfection of statement. Emerson's "The Sphinx" is a fair example of his poems. The opening verses are musical; in succeeding verses we are lapped into a charming reverie; at the end we are suddenly jolted by the question, What is it all about? Emerson's poetry is "governed by the ordinary laws of prose writing, and his prose by the laws of poetry." Emerson wrote of England as "an island famous for immortal laws, for the announcement of original rights which make the stone tables of liberty." He found there free speech, personal courage, and reverence for the individual. In the days of the Missouri Compromise and the Fugitive Slave Law he wrote: "One thing appears certain to me, the Union is at an end as soon as an immoral law is enacted. He who writes a crime into the statute book digs under the foundations of the Capitol." The essay next in interest is that on Robert Browning, from which we quote a few things: "Thousands are now studying Browning, reading lives of his heroes, and hunting up the subjects he treated. This Browningism, which some laugh at, has its roots in natural piety, and the educational value of it is very great. . . . Religion was at the basis of Browning's character, and it is the function of religious poetry that his work fulfills." "He believes that the development of the individual soul is the main end of existence. The strain and stress of life are incidental to growth, and therefore desirable. Development and growth mean a closer union with God." "There never was a poet whose scope was so definite. That is the reason why the world is so cleanly divided into people who do and who do not care for Browning. . . . To some he is a strong, rare, and precious elixir, which nothing else will replace. To others, who do not need him, he is a boisterous and eccentric person—a Heracles in the house of mourning." "Browning's poetry is full of words that glow and smite, and which have been burnt into and struck into the most influential minds of the last fifty years." "He possesses one superlative excellence, and it is upon this that he relies; upon this that he has emerged and attacked the heart of man. It is upon this that he may possibly fight his way down to posterity and live like a fire forever in the bosom of mankind. *His language is the language of common speech; his force the immediate force of life.*" "In his century he stands as one of the great men of England. His doctrines are the mere effulgence of his personality. He himself was the truth which he taught. His life was the life of one of his own heroes." About another of Mr. Chapman's essays we will not write. He says that the subject of it is "the mare's nest of American literature;" that chiefly the English have discovered him; that they never could find greatness in our literature till this poet appeared; that he corresponded with the foreign imagination of the rampant wildness of everything in this country; and that many a hard-thinking Oxford man slept quietly at night after he had discovered this

bard, because then America was solved. Mr. Chapman says that anybody who wants to know the inner life of a tramp, and how the world looks to a vagabond who tastes "the joy of being disreputable and unashamed," may learn it from this man's works, because he "has given utterance to the soul of the tramp." "In his works," says our author, "the elemental parts of a man's mind and the fragments of imperfect education may be seen merging together, floating and sinking in a sea of insensate rhapsody. . . . The revolt he represents is not an intellectual revolt. Ideas are not at the bottom of it. It is a revolt from drudgery. It is the revolt of laziness. . . . The man was a poseur, a most horrid mountebank and ego-maniac. His tawdry scraps of misused ideas, of dog-eared and greasy reminiscence, repel us." Mr. Chapman says this man was "a quack poet," who "filled his work with grimace and vulgarity," who was "so very ignorant and untrained that his mind was utterly incoherent and unintellectual," whose "gush and sentiment are false to life," who "committed every unpardonable sin against our conventions," whose "whole life was an outrage," who "was neither chaste nor industrious nor religious," who "patiently lived upon cold pie and tramped the earth in triumph," and who "lived the life he liked to live in defiance of all men." It is not we but Mr. Chapman who says all these things about a man whom we will not name lest some offended devotee complain of us for overt sacrilege. Mr. Chapman must carry his own perilous responsibility for his irreverent speech concerning one who has been called the "Bard of Democracy," "the Christ of the nineteenth century," and concerning some of whose works it is not permissible to speak the truth nor possible publicly to describe or repeat them.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Cheerful Yesterdays. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 12mo, pp. 374. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $2.

Vivacious volumes of reminiscences, written by those who have lived in stirring times and in familiar fellowship with marked and influential personalities, may be more valuable, as they surely are more interesting, than general histories usually prove. The best of such books give us the flavor of the lives which lent significance and piquancy to the years. The man who in his mellow maturity, full of great memories, can picture to us the changes he has seen, the men and women he has known, so that we see and know them, too, is a charmer who always gathers a listening group about him. Colonel Higginson is such a *raconteur* with many a story to tell. His autobiography is more about others than about himself. Born in 1823, in little Cambridge, he found there all that human heart and mind could need for elementary training. He tumbled about among books from his birth. His mother recorded that at the age of four he had "read a good many books." He feels sure this precocity did not hurt him. He gained a liberal education in

lying on the hearth rug evenings while his mother read aloud the Waverley Novels and other great books. Until this day he never has been able to get enough of books; book-hunger grows by what it feeds on. A literary career was natural for him. In his veins, besides, was adventurous blood and the passion for humanitarian reform. Lying in his bed the boy heard serenaders under his sister's window singing the fine old glee, "To Greece We Give our Shining Blades;" it made him feel, in Keats's phrase, as if he were going to a tournament. From eight to thirteen the boy went to the private school of William Wells, the best place at that time to fit for Harvard. The "ill effects of a purely masculine world, manifest in the school," gave him "a lifelong preference for coeducation." "One almost romantic aspect of the school was the occasional advent of Spanish boys, usually from Porto Rico, who were as good as dime novels to us, with their dark skins and sonorous names—Victoriano Rosello, Magin Rigual, Pedro Mangual. They swore superb Spanish oaths, and they once or twice drew knives upon one another with an air which the 'Pirate's Own Book' offered nothing to surpass." Here is a boy's joy at learning to swim: "Few moments in life ever gave a sense of conquest and achievement so delicious as when I first made my way through water beyond my depth." There was a little girl who "was sure there could be no such place as hell, because her minister had never mentioned it." The interest which a college has for the people of the place where it is located, who observe from without its buzzing life as generations of students come and go, is thus described: "Living in a college town is like dwelling just outside a remarkably large glass beehive, where one can watch all day long the busy little people inside; can see them going incessantly to and fro at their honey-making, pausing occasionally to salute or sting one another, and all without the slightest peril to the beholder. Life becomes rich in this safe and curious contemplation." The college companion who did most for Higginson's literary tastes was Levi Lincoln Thaxter, who in after life was one of the first to make Browning known in this country. "Thaxter's modesty and reticence, and the later fame of his poet-wife, Celia, have obscured him to the world; but he was one of the most loyal and high-minded of men." In "The Period of the Newness" we have glimpses of the thinkers and the doers of that seething epoch of transcendentalism, Brook Farm, and other Yankee notions, when Emerson wrote to Carlyle, "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform; not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket." The best all-round man at Brook Farm was Charles A. Dana, and at public meetings of the reformers in Boston he was their most effective speaker, while George William Curtis scarce ever opened his lips. The latter Higginson saw at the Farm walking about in shirt sleeves with his boots over his trousers, yet escorting a maiden with that elegant grace which was native to him. Higginson remembers the time when his elder brother came home one

evening with the curt remark, "Jim Lowell doubts whether he shall really be a lawyer, after all; he thinks he shall be a poet;" of which poet N. P. Willis said that he was "the best launched man of his time." Lowell at first kept house in the upper story of his father's large mansion, where his sweet wife kept the rooms, including his study, as orderly as she could, always cruising, Lowell said, like Admiral Van Tromp, with a broom at her masthead. There she rocked her baby in a cradle fashioned from a barrel cut lengthways, placed on rockers, and upholstered by herself. It is recorded that some time in the forties Rev. Henry C. Wright lost his parish, near Newburyport, Mass., for the indecorum of swimming across the Merrimac River. Back in the thirties, at a session of the Philadelphia Conference, the pastor of the church where the Conference met brought a formal charge of unministerial conduct against Rev. William Urie, arresting the passage of his character because he had gone through the parsonage whistling. Colonel Higginson tells of the things he saw and the part he took in the abolition movement which led to the Kansas struggle, the John Brown foray, the civil war, and emancipation. Knowing John Brown well, he says of him: "He was simply a high-minded, unselfish, belated Covenanter, a man whom Sir Walter Scott might have drawn. He had that religious elevation which is a kind of refinement—the quality one may see expressed in many a venerable Quaker face at yearly meeting. He lived, as he finally died, absolutely absorbed in one idea; and it is as a pure enthusiast that he is to be judged. His belief was that an all-seeing God had created the Alleghany Mountains from all eternity as the predestined refuge for a body of fugitive slaves." Of John Brown's wife Higginson writes: "Never in my life have I been in contact with a nature more dignified and noble; a Roman matron touched with the finer element of Christianity. She told me that his plan for slave liberation had occupied her husband's thoughts and prayers for twenty years; that he always believed himself an instrument in the hands of Providence, and she believed it too." All the men of her household planned to sacrifice their lives for freedom. In a Boston publishing house Colonel Higginson first met the "Bard of Democracy," who was there consulting about the publication of his poems, and records his impressions thus: "I saw before me, sitting on the counter, a handsome, burly man, heavily built. I felt perhaps a little prejudiced against him from having read his 'Leaves of Grass' on a voyage in the early stages of seasickness, a fact which doubtless increased for me the intrinsic unsavoriness of certain passages. But the personal impression made on me by the poet was not so much of manliness as of Boweriness, if I may coin the word; indeed, rather suggesting Sidney Lanier's subsequent vigorous phrase, 'a dandy roustabout.' This passing impression did not hinder me from thinking of Whitman with satisfaction and hope at a later day when regiments were to be raised for the war, when the Bowery seemed the very place to enlist them, and even 'Billy Wilson's Zouaves'

were hailed with delight. When, however, after waiting a year or more, the poet decided that the proper post for him was hospital service, I confess to a feeling of reaction, which was rather increased than diminished by his profuse celebration of his own labors in that direction." In the years when Abolitionists were mobbed in Boston young Higginson spent one night on guard with others protecting Wendell Phillips's house, and "was struck with Phillips's high-bred bravery. Always aristocratic in aspect, he was never more so than when walking through the streets of his own Boston with a howling mob about him. It was hard to make him adopt ordinary precautions; he did not care to have the police protect his house, and he would have gone to the scaffold if necessary, like the typical French marquis in the Reign of Terror, who calmly took a pinch of snuff from his snuffbox while looking on the crowd which surrounded the guillotine." Colonel Higginson says that General B. F. Butler found in Louisiana three regiments of negroes which the Confederates had formed and turned them into Union troops; that General Saxton, who had seen both blacks and Indians in action, testified that the negroes would often stand fire where the Indians would run away; that Miss Dorothea Dix, superintendent of nurses, "had something of the habitual despotism of the saints." The author's reminiscences of "Literary London Twenty Years Ago" are full of interest. Matthew Arnold seemed to him, in personal intercourse, "as he had always seemed in literature, a keen but by no means judicial critic, and in no proper sense a poet." He found Darwin "a simple, noble, absolutely truthful soul. Without the fascination and boyish eagerness of Agassiz, he was also free from the vehement partisanship which this quality brings with it, and he showed a mind ever humble and open to new truth." He went to see Tennyson at Farringford, his coming having been announced to the laureate by Thackeray's daughter in a letter. He sent up his card, sat down in the drawing room, and "Presently I heard a rather heavy step in the adjoining room, and there stood in the doorway the most un-English-looking man I had yet seen. He was tall and high-shouldered, careless in dress, and while he had a high and domed forehead, yet his brilliant eyes and tangled hair and beard gave him rather the air of a partially reformed Corsican bandit or else an imperfectly secularized Carmelite monk than of a decorous and well-groomed Englishman. He greeted me shyly, gave me his hand, which was in those days a good deal for an Englishman, and then sidled up to the mantelpiece, leaned on it, and said, with the air of a vexed schoolboy, 'I am rather afraid of you Americans; your countrymen do not treat me very well. There was Bayard Taylor'—and then he went into a long narration of some grievance incurred through an indiscreet letter of that well-known journalist. . . . I noticed that when he was speaking of other men he mentioned as an important trait in their character whether they liked his poems or not—Lowell, he evidently thought, did not." A few days after Higginson had returned to his

American home he had the pleasure of reading in the local newspaper that he had enjoyed himself greatly in England, and had been kindly received, "especially among servants and rascals," that phrase being the typesetter's felicitous misprint for "savants and radicals." When traveling as a lyceum lecturer, west of the Mississippi, Higginson found in a log-cabin Longfellow's "Dante" on the table, and Miilais's "Huguenot Lovers" on the wall; in nineteen out of forty houses constituting a village the *Atlantic Monthly* was regularly taken. He once found the locomotive engineer of the train which was carrying him to be the vice president of the lyceum he was to lecture for, a man familiar with Carlyle and Emerson and like literature.

The Letters of Victor Hugo. From Exile and After the Fall of the Empire. Edited by PAUL MEURICE. 8vo, pp. 249. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

In this second volume of letters we have the Victor Hugo whom we have known in his great works; this we looked for in the first volume, yet found little except the insignificant and unimportant. But here is the poet, the brilliant genius, the foe of thrones and tyrants, the herald of liberty and champion of the people, the embodiment of conscience as of intellect, the ardent patriot—ready to write or fight, to starve or rot, to go to banishment or the barricade, for the sake of his high ideals and deep convictions; the Frenchman most loved by the liberty-loving young men of France and most hated by the malefactor whom he pilloried in history as "Napoleon the Little." On December 2, 1851, Louis Napoleon perpetrated the crime known as the *coup d'état*, by which he strangled the liberties of France. Shortly after he issued a decree of banishment against Victor Hugo and sixty-seven representatives of the people. Formerly, when Louis Napoleon was an exile from France, Victor Hugo had procured for him permission to return. His gratitude was like his patriotism—worthy of a bandit. Expelled from his country, Hugo went to Brussels and sat down to write the history of the crime by which brute force and perfidy had seized the government. In a white heat of splendid wrath he began to write his remorseless record of the facts, saying: "I shall treat the Bonaparte in proper fashion. I will see to the fellow's historical future. I will hand him down to posterity by the ears." His life in Brussels is like this: "I have a tiny bed, two straw-bottomed chairs, and no fire in winter. I work all day, make my own bed, and live on three francs a day for all my expenses." Before long Louis Napoleon induced Belgium also to expel Victor Hugo from its soil, whereupon the exile took up his abode on the island of Jersey, in the British Channel. Later, the same malign influence procured his expulsion from Jersey, and he took refuge in Guernsey, where he spent the remainder of his eighteen years of exile, devoting himself to literature and to characterizing his imperial persecutor with the hope expressed shortly after his own banishment: "Napoleon the Little has driven me out. Who knows if I shall not be one of those who will drive

him out of Paris?" When he had roasted him in prose in one volume he said, "I will turn the wretch over on the gridiron," and grilled him on the other side in a volume of verse entitled *Châtiments*. On the last day of 1851 Victor Hugo wrote at Brussels: "The year closes on a great ordeal for us all—our two sons in prison and I in exile. That is hard, but good. A little frost improves the crop. As for me, I thank God;" and, a few days later: "I have never felt more lighthearted. The events in Paris suit me. They reach an ideal point in atrocity as well as in grotesqueness. There are creatures like Troplong, like Dupin, whom I cannot help admiring. I like complete men. These wretches are perfect specimens. They attain the climax of infamy. Bonaparte is well surrounded. . . . I have done my duty; I am vanquished, but happy. A conscience at rest is like a clear sky within oneself." From Jersey, in the autumnal equinox of 1853, he writes: "The sea howls among the rocks; the wind roars like a wild beast; the trees writhe on the hills; Nature rages around me. I look her full in the face and say to her, 'What right have you to complain, Nature, you who are in your abode; while I who have been driven from my country and my home, I smile!' That is my dialogue with the north wind and the rain." This the exile writes to Emile Deschanel at Brussels: "All is rosy for you, somber for me. You are married to success, to happiness, to an enamored public, to applause, to smiles; I have wedded the sea, the hurricane, a vast sandy shore, sadness, and the starry canopy of heaven." And this to Villemain, lamenting the lack of books: "You refresh your mind at the sacred limpid springs from which human thought filters and falls throughout the ages. I am in the wilderness, alone with the sea and with grief, drinking from the hollow of my hand." On Guernsey he writes: "In my life on this rock my mind has gradually become detached from everything except the great manifestations of the conscience and the intellect;" also, "Every Tuesday I give a dinner to fifteen little children, chosen from among the most poverty-stricken on the island, and my family and I wait on them. I try by this means to give this feudal country an idea of equality and fraternity." At Brussels, in 1851, after the *coup d'état*, three men were named as personifying the struggle against despotism—Mazzini, Kossuth, and Victor Hugo. In 1863 Garibaldi writes from his island farm on Caprera: "With you I should like to see the universal agreement which would make war useless. Like you I await with confidence the regeneration of peoples. But to realize truth without suffering, and to tread the triumphal path of justice without besprinkling it with human blood, is an ideal which has hitherto been sought in vain. It is for you, who are the torchbearer, to point out a less cruel way; it is for us to follow you." More than twenty years before Abraham Lincoln wrote the proclamation of emancipation the poet-patriot of France said: "It is impossible that the United States shall not before long give up slavery. Slavery in such a country! Was there ever such a monstrous contradiction? It is barbarism installed in

the very heart of a society which is the affirmation of civilization. Liberty in chains; blasphemy proceeding from the altar; the negro's fetters riveted to the pedestal of Washington's statue! It is unheard of. I go further—it is impossible. It is a phenomenon which will disappear of itself. The light of the nineteenth century is sufficient to dissolve it . . . . The United States must either give up slavery or give up liberty! They will not give up liberty! They must either give up slavery or the Gospel! They will not give up the Gospel!" When John Brown had been hung in Virginia, Victor Hugo noted as an appropriate coincidence that it was on the second of December, the date of the *coup d'état*, and wrote from Guernsey to George Sand: "I am overwhelmed with grief. They have killed John Brown. And it is a republic which has done this! What sinister folly it is to be an owner of men; and see what it leads to! Here is a free nation putting to death a liberator! The crimes of kings one can understand, but crimes committed by a people are intolerable to the thinker." Again he wrote: "There is but one God. With but one Father we are all brothers. It was for this truth that John Brown died. . . . Slavery will disappear. What the Southern States have just killed is not John Brown, but slavery. Henceforth the American Union may be looked on as broken up. I deeply regret it, but it is a foregone conclusion." A Bishop de Segur having written satirically of Victor Hugo and described his greatest book as "infamous," Hugo addressed him thus: "I was not aware of your existence. I am informed to-day that you do exist, and even that you are a bishop. . . . In *Les Misérables* there is a bishop who is good, sincere, humble, brotherly, endowed with wit as well as kindness, and who unites every virtue to his sacred office. I suppose that is why *Les Misérables* seems to you an infamous book. From which it must be inferred that the book would be to you an admirable one if the bishop in it were a malignant slanderer, an insulter, a tasteless and vulgar writer, a scribbler of the basest kind, a circulator of police court scandal, a croziered and mitered liar. Would the second bishop be more true to life than the first? The question concerns you, sir. You are a better judge of bishops than I am." All great hearts believe in God and immortality. When afflictions smite them they endure in hope. Hear Victor Hugo in the sorrow of bereavement: "I no longer live; I suffer; my eyes are fixed on heaven; I wait. Alas! What an angel I have lost! . . . Death has its revelations. Light comes to us with our grief. I have faith; I believe in a future life. How could I do otherwise? My daughter was a soul; I saw this soul; I touched it. It was with me for eighteen years; my eyes are still full of its radiance. Even in this world she visibly belonged to the life above." And again: "Misfortune brings understanding. How many things have I seen in myself and outside myself since my sorrow! The highest hopes spring from the deepest griefs. Let us thank God for having given us the right to suffer, since it brings with it the right to hope." In many a letter is proof of his sense of God, his

trust in God, his fellowship with God: "All that God does is good; but when he works through man the tool sometimes goes wrong and plays tricks in spite of the workman." "God does not hurry. He has no lack of time. I am therefore in no hurry. It pains me to wait, but I wait, and I find that waiting is good." "I believe in God because I believe in man. The acorn proves to me the oak, the ray the star." The exile on the channel island sees God in nature: "Perched here as it were on the summit of a rock, with the grandeur of waves and sky before me, I dwell in an immense dream of the ocean. I am gradually becoming a somnambulist of the sea; and in face of all these stupendous phenomena I end by being only a sort of witness of God." "Whoever despairs of man despairs of God—that is to say, does not believe in him." "I believe in God more than in myself. I am more certain of the existence of God than of my own." "A few minds in our day obtain notoriety by means of negation; affirmation is left to the great souls!" One of the last letters gives us this: "Old age is the age of adding up, for thoughts as well as for years, for the mind as well as for life. Only the total of years is overwhelming, the total of thoughts is sustaining. Hence the result that while the body decays the mind expands. There is a sort of dawn within it. This mysterious rejuvenation, this doubling of the moral and intellectual forces while the material force is sinking, this growth in decay, what a magnificent proof it is of the soul! The mind creates up to the last moment—sublime promise of the great unknown life which it is about to enter. Its span augments. The process resembles an unfolding of the wings." On the last page of this book, which throbs with the very heart-beats of Victor Hugo, is this characteristic trumpet-call of the great republican, who prophesied "The United States of Europe," a message addressed in 1879 to the members of the Free and Unsectarian Congress of Education: "Citizens, the period for the dissolution of the old world has arrived. The ancient despotisms are condemned by Providence; time, the grave-digger, working away in the dark, casts the earth over them; each day thrusts them further back into nothingness. The republic is the future."

Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Straits. By HARRY DE WINDT, author of *A Ride to India.* 8vo, pp. 314. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is one of the latest books born of that rampant passion for perilous adventure and ransacking exploration which Kipling celebrates in his poem, "The Feet of the Young Men." The author's original plan was to travel from New York to Paris by land, barring the forty miles across Bering Straits, where he hoped to find in midwinter solid ice on which to cross. Reaching the shore of Bering Sea, he learned that the currents which run through Bering Straits are too strong to permit the ice ever to solidify. His route was from New York to Juneau, *via* Victoria, B. C., over Chilkoot Pass to the head of Yukon River, and down that river to Fort St. Michael, on Bering Sea. The first seven chapters

are filled with descriptions of Alaska and the Klondike, accompanied by maps and photographs. The Appendix contains a list of supplies, utensils, tools, and medicines necessary for each person in the trip from Juneau to Dawson City; a table of distances from Dyea to Circle City; and directions for staking out a mining claim. Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. A foolish bargain in the minds of many, it was ridiculed as "Seward's Ice Box." In the first five years it paid eight per cent on the cost. In six years the salmon catch yielded $7,500,000; and prior to 1897 the gold mines had produced $8,000,000. Besides this, many millions from seals and furs. In addition to these resources coal, copper, lead, and petroleum in large quantities wait to be taken out of the earth. William H. Seward regarded the purchase of Alaska as the most important measure of his public life. The author having roughed it in many parts of the world —in Borneo, Siberia, and Chinese Tartary—describes his climb over the Chilkoot Pass as the severest physical experience of his life. Mosquitoes are an intolerable pest in Alaska. In the Yukon they will torture a dog to death in a few hours. Mosquito netting is as indispensable as food or fire. Unprotected faces are soon swollen and disfigured beyond recognition, and strong men groan and weep with the pain. "Alaska strawberries" are beans. A potato patch is as good as pay-dirt, potatoes bringing fifteen dollars a bushel. Klondike is not the only place in Alaska where gold is found. It is all over the country, from Sitka to the Arctic Ocean, and from Mackenzie River to Bering Sea. The Klondike gold fields are in British territory, sixty miles east of the United States boundary. Only sober, strong, healthy men should go to Klondike, and these risk death by cold, starvation, or drowning, though every year the risks are diminished. Many men have found riches and some immense fortunes there. Learning at St. Michaels from some Siberian natives who had crossed Bering Sea in their skinboats that between Cape Prince of Wales on the American shore of Bering Straits and East Cape, directly opposite in Asia, forty miles away, is a channel ten miles wide, where huge ice floes are forever on the move, crushing and grinding their way in and out of the Polar Sea, Mr. De Windt was carried across Bering Sea to a point on the Asiatic coast marked as Cape Tchaplin on most maps, the native name for the settlement being Oumwaidjik, by the United States revenue cutter *Bear*, which was patrolling the Arctic Ocean. There he was detained and virtually kept a prisoner for four months by the Tchuktchi tribe, who resemble the Alaskan Eskimos in appearance but are far filthier and utterly vicious and treacherous, the Alaskans being by comparison honest, good-tempered, and friendly toward strangers. The horrible filthiness and beastliness of this tribe, in whose walrus-skin tents the author endured stench, vermin, skin disease, and the sight of unnamable vice, would be incredible if told by any traveler not credentialed by membership in the Royal Geographical Society or some equally good

certificate. On account of their warlike disposition the Tchuktchi have been called the Soudanese of Siberia. When they are infuriated by liquor, obtained from whalers or other vessels, no man's life is safe in the settlement. De Windt, who was more than once in deadly peril from this cause, expresses the opinion that if justice penetrated as far as Bering Sea the unscrupulous traders, who barter bad whisky on those coasts, should be hanged for the crime. If there, why not here? The community relieves itself of disabled, sick, or superfluous members by strangling them. A family council decides the case and the victim submits. A feast is held; at the end a rude drum is beaten; the friends and relatives form a circle. The executioner, usually the victim's son or brother, puts a noose of walrus hide around the victim's neck, plants his foot in the middle of the back, and pulls on the noose till death ensues. Women, however, are not put to death in this way. To savages like these Christian missionaries go in arctic regions. One Protestant missionary was murdered by Eskimos at Cape Prince of Wales as recently as 1895. As the weeks and months in that Arctic imprisonment went on it became plainer to De Windt that the Tchuktchi meant never to help him away, but to appropriate everything he had and perhaps kill him. Hope of ever seeing a civilized face almost died. A painful eruption tortured his skin. Vermin swarmed in the hut where he was kept among the natives. "Minutes seemed like hours in that foul dark dwelling which, toward night time, assumed the appearance of a veritable Inferno, with its naked occupants of both sexes." Finally, an American vessel hove in sight amid the floating ice, saw the Union Jack which De Windt's servant, George Harding, an Englishman, had stuck up on the beach, ran up the Stars and Stripes to masthead, and steered in to the rescue of the adventurous travelers. It was the steam whaler *Belvidere*, of New Bedford, Mass., Joseph Whiteside owner and captain, that saved them. On the ship was Mrs. Whiteside, a young and delicate-looking woman, a bride who was taking as her honeymoon trip a two years' whaling cruise in the Arctic Ocean. Having weak lungs from childhood, the doctors thought at the time of her marriage that she would not live long, but the cold pure air of arctic regions worked wonders, and she returned from the cruise perfectly cured of weak lungs. It is well ascertained that dry Northern winter air is often better for such troubles than the balmy South. The book ends with praise of Joseph Whiteside as a brave mariner and a generous man. The brave are always generous, the generous mostly brave.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Rifted Clouds; or, Light on the Weary Path. The Life Story of Bella Cooke. A Record of Loving-kindness and Tender Mercy. Vol. II. Edited by Rev. JOSEPH PULLMAN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 516. New York: George Hughes & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50; gilt, $2.

Some of the choicest saints in the record of Christianity are to be found in the ranks of womanhood. One instinctively thinks, when

asked to name the devout souls of history, of Madame Guyon and Susannah Wesley; of Lady Huntington and Catherine Booth; of Frances Ridley Havergal and Elizabeth Payson Prentiss. If she were dead the world would write in this list the name of Bella Cooke; though she is living, she is none the less deserving of such enrollment by all the standards of estimate which men employ. Suffering is the price she has paid for sainthood. As a prisoner in her room for over forty years, and an heir to the keenest agonies of which the human flesh is capable, the record of her experiences is one that enriches Christian literature. The present volume is an autobiographical story of her life since January, 1884. It tells of activities for the poor under whose weight the well would stagger; of unruffled serenity in the midst of racking pains; of a blissful fellowship with the divine; and of a knowledge of the deep things of God such as are granted to but few. Mrs. Cooke is an "east window" saint. "I am all closed in," she writes, "by tall rows of brick houses, and yet through my little east window I get patches of morning sunlight and glimpses of the beautiful moon, both of which I was deprived of for many years. . . .

> Just an old tree and a touch of blue
> Is all that I have for my window view;
> Nothing but that, yet so much to me,
> Who never can more of the great world see;
> Over in front of the houses high
> Is the top of the tree, a patch of the sky.

. . . What a comfort that window is to me none can tell. Light from the east! and with the Sun of righteousness shining upon me I can but repeat, 'For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills.'" We despair, however, of quoting more fully from a volume so replete with holy sentiment and high tranquility. It is not strange that bishops of the Church, or such leaders in reform work as Mrs. Ballington Booth and Lady Henry Somerset, go to sit at the feet of Bella Cooke and learn the secret of her peace. Those who know her need no indorsement of this second volume of her autobiography; those who are ignorant of her life story have hitherto missed an unusual illustration of the Christlike virtues in human living. We commend her volume without reserve, and with no disposition for idle eulogy—since she is too etherealized in spirit and too absorbed in communion with the heavenly world to be swerved from her exalted pursuits by this meed of praise.

Sermons and Addresses. By WILLIAM NAST BRODBECK, D.D., late pastor of Trinity Church, Charlestown, Mass. With an Introduction by Bishop W. F. Mallalieu, D.D., a Personal Tribute by Bishop R. S. Foster, D.D., and a Biographical Sketch by Henry Tuckley, D.D. A Memorial Volume. Edited by CHARLES L. GOODELL. 12mo, pp. 317. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

It was an unusual personality which is here recalled. A stranger to the name and work of Dr. Brodbeck would reach no other conclusion in

reading this volume of his sermons and addresses. So much of his own vigor and breeziness and evangelistic spirit is transferred to the printed page that one feels himself in the presence of a leader of the hosts, and deplores the passing of such a commanding spirit from the midst of men. In the preparation of this memorial Dr. Brodbeck has been recalled by those who knew him well and loved him much. The biographical sketch by Dr. Tuckley has not only the merit of clearness, but also that of tender portrayal. It is the hand of a friend much beloved by Dr. Brodbeck which has outlined the vivid picture of this departed worker. A still further excellence of the book, in these last days of sometimes flippant pulpit performance, is the lesson of wholesome doctrinal and evangelistic preaching to be found in the discourses of Dr. Brodbeck. Through the twenty-five years that he spent in the Christian ministry he was a faithful herald of the great truths of salvation in Jesus Christ for which the world is ahungered. Fittingly does Bishop Mallalieu say of him in the Introduction: "He realized in a measure the awful danger of the unsaved, and at the same time he saw their needs and their utter helplessness; and so it was that his tender, affectionate, sympathetic nature impelled him by all means to win them to the Lord Jesus Christ. He seemed sometimes to be so anxious and burdened for souls that it may truthfully be said of him that he shared with Christ a real fellowship in his suffering for the salvation of men." Never was there more need for such preachers and for such preaching in the history of humanity—and if this memorial volume shall carry the lesson to the convictions of our ministry who may read its pages, it will be well. The book has been edited with such taste by C. L. Goodell that there is nothing but commendation to be spoken. To a host of friends in many places the volume will come as a welcome visitor, and in its perusal they will recall an influential and winning character who is enshrined in the memory of the Church.

History of Ohio Methodism. A Study in Social Science. By JOHN MARSHALL BARKER, Ph.D. Introduction by President James W. Bashford, Ph.D., D.D. 12mo, pp. 448. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book without doubt represents a vast amount of labor on the part of its editor. Only those who have attempted the gathering of historic *data* or the compilation of statistics can know how severe must have been Dr. Barker's task. In fact, he informs us that, besides the assistance of friends, he has for nearly a decade gathered historic materials for the volume while traveling through Ohio. Aiming to present "a general survey" of the work of Ohio Methodism, rather than to write its "annals," he has produced a history of real value. To the Ohio Methodist it cannot but be welcome; and to all our historians and historical societies it will prove a valuable treasury of information. We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of its records, and commend to all who have the reminiscent spirit this story of a century of denominational progress in the great State of Ohio.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. John Hus and the Present Demand for Home Rule in Bohemia. *President W. H. Crawford, D.D., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.* . 681

II. The Value of the Study of Political Economy to the Christian Minister. *Professor J. R. Commons, Ph.D., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.* 696

III. Browning's "Paracelsus." *Miss Florence L. Snow, M.L., Neosho Falls, Kan.* 713

IV. The Philosophy of Myth, or the Difficulties in the Way of Proof. *Professor I. F. Russell, LL.D., New York University, New York City* 726

V. St. Paul and Social Relations. *Rev. W. E. McLennan, Ph.D., Berwyn (Chicago), Ill.* 738

VI. The Poetry of Matthew Arnold. *Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.* 757

VII. The Open Church and the Closed Church. *Rev. J. W. Magruder, Springfield, O.* 769

VIII. Mormon Theogony. *Rev. J. D. Gillilan, D.D., Mount Pleasant, Utah.* 777

IX. The Holy Ghost in Spiritual Perception. *Rev. J. R. T. Lathrop, Indianapolis, Ind.* 781

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 792

Religious and Morals, 793; Christina Rossetti's Devotional Prose, 798.

The Arena 806

"Our Disjointed Episcopacy," 806; "The Function of Doubt," 811.

The Itinerants' Club 813

Complaints of the Minister's Vacation, 813; Emphasis in Preaching, 815.

Archæology and Biblical Research 817

The United States and Archæology, 817.

Missionary Review 821

Africa Awaking, 821; Some Phases of African Affairs, 823; Missions and Colonization, 824.

Foreign Outlook 825

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines 831

Book Notices 834

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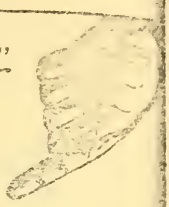

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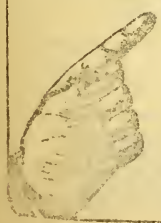

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

JOHN HUS AND THE PRESENT DEMAND FOR HOME RULE IN BOHEMIA 681
President W. H. CRAWFORD, D.D., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER 696
Professor J. R. COMMONS, Ph.D., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

BROWNING'S "PARACELSUS" 712
Miss FLORENCE L. SNOW, M.L., Neosho Falls, Kan.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MYTH, OR THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF PROOF 726
Professor I. F. RUSSELL, LL.D., New York University, New York City.

ST. PAUL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS 738
Rev. W. E. MCLENNAN, Ph.D., Berwyn (Chicago), Ill.

THE POETRY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD 757
Professor T. W. HUNT, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

THE OPEN CHURCH AND THE CLOSED CHURCH 769
Rev. J. W. MAGRUDER, Springfield, O.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 813
Resultants of the Minister's Vacation, 813; Emphasis in Preaching, 815.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 817
The United States and Archæology, 817.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 821
A Giant Awaking, 821; Some Phases of African Affairs, 823; Missions and Colonization, 824.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 825

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 831

BOOK NOTICES 834
Weldon's The Hope of Immortality, 834 Gérôme's Christ and the Critics, 836; Andrews's Christianity and Anti-Christianity in their Final Conflict, 837; Palmer's The Glory of the Imperfect, 839; Mrs. Coates's Poems, 842; Bell's Christina Rossetti, 843; Azhderian's The Turk and the Land of Haig, 847; MISCELLANEOUS, 848.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1898.

ART. I.—JOHN HUS AND THE PRESENT DEMAND FOR HOME RULE IN BOHEMIA.

WHEN the sons of liberty in our modern Italy began building their monuments for Mazzini and Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, they remembered also the earlier heroes and martyrs of Italian freedom. They formed the marble and fashioned the bronze for Arnoldo and Bruno, Dante and Galileo, Michael Angelo and Savonarola. A similar thing is happening to-day in Bohemia. The liberty-loving Bohemians of our time—Chekhs, they call themselves—in honoring such men as Palacky, Reiger, and Trojan, acknowledge also the influence of the earlier prophets of Bohemian nationality. Nothing is more marked in the modern uprising in Bohemia than the fact that the Chekhs point with pride to John Amos Comenius, General Ziska, Jerome of Prague, and John Hus. In this they acknowledge that the heroic assertions of Bohemian independence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are part of a larger movement in which for four centuries Bohemian nationality has been struggling to find expression. The cry to-day is against the broken pledges of the Emperor Francis Joseph, against the unfair advantage of the German portion of the population, against the intolerance of the hated Austrian Parliament. The plea is for nationality—political freedom.

The earlier attempts to break the oppressor's yoke find nowhere more perfect embodiment in a single man than in John Hus, a patriot of high order, bold defender of national rights, firm believer in Bohemian individuality and Bohemian independence. He was born amid the rugged fastnesses of the

highlands which crouch at the feet of the Bohemian Mountains. His parents were simple village folk. The beginnings of his education were found in the monastic school of his native village and in the collegium, or high school, of a neighboring town. The college days of Hus were passed in the University of Prague at a time of material prosperity and intellectual activity. Charles IV had died while Hus was in the high school, but his magnificent achievements for Prague were visible on every side. Castles and splendid temples adorned all parts of the city. There was hardly a street that did not wear the smile of imperial munificence. But the greatest achievement of Charles in the upbuilding of Prague was the university. Counting its students by the tens of thousands, it was the thought-center of Bohemia. The great masters of this university were not content with mere intellectual culture. They believed that such an institution has a mission to the people as a whole. They had the spirit, if not the method, of modern university extension. The university was a school of patriotism as well as a school of philosophy and dialectics. It was a center of independent thought. Bold lecturers spoke out freely on questions vital to the interests of Church and State. In this atmosphere of municipal magnificence and intellectual independence John Hus passed the days of his college life. In the cap and cape of a lecturer his ability was soon recognized. When little more than thirty years of age he was elected rector of the university. This gave him commanding influence among scholars and students. At about the same time he was chosen by the queen as her confessor. This honor introduced him to the royal court and added weight to his arguments with the nobility. An honor more appreciated by Hus than any which had yet come to him was his election as preacher in Bethlehem Chapel. The public activities of Hus were crowded into a few brief years—ten years in Bethlehem Chapel, two in exile, then the end. But before looking into these years we ought to stop for a moment and get before us some of the reform forces which surrounded him. There was the free and independent spirit of Bohemian nationality, the influence of Greek traditions, the aggressiveness of the university. Back of Hus there was a line of preachers in Bohemia

whose influence had gone beyond national limits. Three of them are worthy of mention—Conrad, of Waldhausen; Milec, of Kremsier; and Matthias, of Janow. There has been recent attempt to show that Hus received almost nothing from the Bohemian reformers who preceded him. If these men were not the precursors of Hus in the sense that they began the work which he carried on, they at least prepared the popular mind for the doctrines he preached and the reforms he instituted. Not forgetting this, it is also true that from the standpoint of Church reform Hus received greater stimulus and suggestion from John Wyclif than from any other source. Prague and Oxford were on intimate terms. Scholarships donated by wealthy citizens gave opportunity for the Bohemian student to hear lectures in Oxford and for the young Englishman to study in Prague. This and the royal intermarriage introduced the writings of Wyclif to the scholars of Prague.

No one can study carefully the condition of Bohemian affairs at this time without feeling that there is at hand a great crisis. There is one man who is equal to the emergency. In looking into the years between 1402 and 1415 it is impossible to do more than mention the principal activities which have contributed to the reformer's fame. Passing by his work as lecturer in the university, as representative of one of the great scholastic parties, as wise administrator in directing university affairs, and giving only passing notice to his learning, political ability, and the personal elements which lent character to his manhood, it is necessary for our present purpose only to mark his influence in the affairs of state. As a preacher we shall find him a worthy successor of Conrad and Milec. He was the pulpit orator of Prague. Catching the ear of the people, holding their attention, and directing their thought and activities, he stood for twelve years the commanding figure in the capital city of Bohemia. To say that Bethlehem Chapel was the Spurgeon's Tabernacle of Prague would give only faint conception of the popularity and influence of this great preaching center. As the Duomo in Florence under the matchless preaching of Savonarola created a public sentiment and directed the popular will, so Bethlehem Chapel

fashioned for Prague its thinking, and gave it a conscience. It did more than the university to mold the thought of the city. Hus was by no means such a man of eloquence as Savonarola, but there was an earnestness about him—a ring of free thought and free speech, and a fierce swing in his words for reform—that attracted attention. His sermons were in the language of the common people. Clear, pointed, and full of vigor, they set men to thinking. The life and words of Christ were constantly emphasized. The Bible was made plain to the people, and its commands enforced. There was nothing of the scholastic in Hus as he stood in the Bethlehem pulpit, but he was rather a living man before living men, with a message divine. His preaching was suited to the time. With eye and ear open to all that was going on, no public event escaped his notice. If there was trouble among the students in the university, if indulgences were hawked too loudly, if unjust crusade was inaugurated, if gross immorality was practiced by the clergy, Hus knew it. The people knew that he knew it. No one could hear him on Sunday without feeling that he had been living in Prague all the previous week. He knew the life that was about him, and he applied Christianity to the times in which he lived. He was not so much concerned about what had been as about what was. His own age commanded his thinking and fashioned his words. Living in our day Hus would not get his sermons from old and musty books of theology of the eighteenth century. He would not prostitute the pulpit by discussing worn-out issues. He would make men feel that Christianity is a real thing for the present hour. He would apply it to every vexed question in social life and present it as the solution for every problem of the time. He would preach Christianity in its relation to the upper ten thousand and the submerged tenth. He would declare its supreme importance for every rank and condition of men. He would see so clearly the tendency of things about him that his sermons would ring with the thoughts which are to be regnant in the twentieth century.

In Bethlehem Chapel, in the university, in royal court, and in council of archbishop his first thought was for reform. His

plan was not a narrow one. It touched both Church and State. A lover of his country, he had early identified himself with the patriots of the university. He was an ardent advocate of Bohemian rights. The Chekh spirit found in him a valiant champion. One of the burning questions of his day we can appreciate. It was the question of immigration. Under the policy of Charles large numbers of Germans had found a home in Bohemia, not to become Bohemians, but to remain Germans. By a shrewd policy they had come to large power. In the university they had three votes on every question to Bohemia's one. When the Bohemian king was emperor of the Germans there was no one to find fault with this arrangement. The University of Prague was the university for all Germany; but when Wenzel lost the emperor's crown and universities had been established in Germany there was a new condition of things. It was felt by the Chekhs of Prague that Bohemia ought to have the right to dictate the policy of her own university. Paris had this right, and Bologna; why not Prague? The leader in this movement to secure for Bohemia a controlling influence in her own university was John Hus. Splendidly supported by leading professors and favorite courtiers, he made appeal to the king. His argument was from the standpoint of the independent nationality of Bohemia. The request was granted. By royal announcement the old order was reversed. Bohemia was given three votes in the university and Germany one. It is not strange that this change was displeasing to the Germans. Packing their gripsacks, thousands of them quitted Prague in a single day. But the university was now Bohemian. Reorganized with John Hus as president, it entered on a new career. There was no longer the interference of a foreign power. With enthusiastic, popular following, Hus pushed boldly forward in his career of reform. He cut the friars with a lash that smarted like sting of scorpion. Their poverty and hypocrisy he struck with blade of truth till blood was on the hilt. There in Bethlehem Chapel he boldly arraigned the cowled monk till he bowed his head in shame. With master strokes he drew a picture of princely luxury; he exposed the shameless traffic in Church offices; the thirst for

promotion, the quarrels and licentiousness of the clergy he opened wide to the public gaze. The outer display of the Church he held up in contrast with the corruption and misery of its inner life. "The Church shines," said he, "in its walls, but starves in its poor saints. It clothes its stones with gold, but leaves its children naked."

No reformer could continue to prosecute his work in such bold spirit without encountering opposition. The bishops who had bought their high offices had no sympathy with any such man. The Germans who remained in Prague had no love for him who had humiliated their country in the university. The monks and clergy were ready for any plan for his overthrow. After Hus had been nine years in Bethlehem Chapel the reform movement of Bohemia began to assume proportions gratifying to its friends and alarming to its enemies. The conservatives of the university confessed their inability to cope with it. It was beyond the reach of the archbishop. The only hope of the reformer's enemies was in the power of the pope. The pope had hardly begun to hurl anathemas when his work was cut short by death. Appeal to the new pope brought edict of excommunication. This new pope was John XXIII—foulest John that ever sat in the papal chair! Pirate, bandit, and mercenary priest, he made his way to the papal throne through poison and gold. His name loaded with darkest crimes, he was deposed by the Council of Constance, and the papal line of Johns ended in infamy. Hus could have little hope from John XXIII. His papal policy was personal aggrandizement and increase of power. His unjust crusade against the King of Naples and the sale of indulgences for its prosecution were attacked in Bethlehem Chapel with an indignation that was hot. The fierce bolts of Luther hurled against the indulgence system represented by John Tetzel were not more deadly than the bolts forged by Hus in his warfare against the indulgence traffic of John XXIII. "Eternal salvation to all who will give gold or armies to crush the King of Naples." This was the pope's proclamation, read in all the churches of Prague. At tap of drum the indulgence preachers with indulgence boxes gathered in public squares to sell their certificates of pardon. Itching to regain the imperial

crown, King Wenzel made no objection to the papal decree. The university tried to maintain a dignified neutrality. It was John Hus who tore the mask from the unholy traffic and exposed its rottenness. In pamphlet and sermon, in public letters and private, in university lecture and public disputation, he was the unflinching opposer of the indulgence scandal. He flung his very life into the contest. To the doctors of the university who feared a popular insurrection he said, "Shall I then keep silence when I ought to speak? Will not the truth inculpate me—me who knew it and out of fear abandoned it? Should my life be dearer to me than my duty?" The opposition to indulgences did not continue without some disturbance. It could not. Prague was full of irrepressible fire. The indulgence preachers were interrupted in their sermons and openly rebuked in the burning of their certificates of pardon. Three students implicated in the tumult were hurried before the council. From all parts of the city two thousand men in arms sprang to the council house to release them. Assured that favor would be shown, Hus persuaded the citizens to disperse. Then rose the scornful laugh of the councilors. The executioner was brought in through the back door and the prisoners beheaded. Blood trickling through the wall into the street announced the treachery. Again the city flew to arms. The council house, deserted by the judges, was in the hands of the enraged populace. The dead bodies were wrapped in rich shrouds, placed on gilded bier, and borne in solemn procession to Bethlehem Chapel. The train of mourners crowded the streets. Flying banners and funeral hymns told one story. In the thought of the people the bodies there at the head of the procession were the bodies of martyrs.

In all the events of these stirring days the voice of Hus was against violence, yet he was the soul of the whole uprising against papal decree. He did not always show that wisdom and gentleness of spirit which so beautify character; nor was he always generous. But in purity of life he was without a stain; in fidelity to his convictions, heroic. He maintained the right of Christian independence against the prostitution of papal power. For such a man in the first half of the fifteenth

century there was nothing but excommunication and interdict. Pope John lost no time in raising the arm of the Church to strike him. The unique supremacy of Hus in the thought of Prague at this time is clearly seen in the fact that for four months he continued his work of defiance of papal edict. When the interdict came the burden for Prague was heavy—no church service, no Christian baptism, no Christian burial till the heretic had gone from the city. From personal torture Hus never shrank, but he would not be a source of suffering to others. There seemed no way but to leave Prague. Among the castles of his native mountains he passed two years in exile. They were not idle years. They were like Wyclif's years at Lutterworth and Bunyan's in Bedford jail. His letters cheered the congregation in Bethlehem Chapel and directed the reform movement which kept on growing. The papal edicts were finally withdrawn, and Hus was promised a fair trial at the approaching Council of Constance. It needed no very keen eye to see that Hus was on his way to the stake. His trial it is not worth while to describe. It was not a trial. He had no advocate. He was not allowed to introduce a single witness in his favor. His attempts at defense were met by the screams of his enemies. In the intervals of comparative quiet he protested that many of the charges brought against him were absolutely false, he had never held any such doctrine. Concerning all other charges he said, "I will rectify any mistaken proposition which any man among you can point out." But the council had no time to argue and no disposition to point out mistakes. The declaration of the council was this: "We are supreme. You must bow to our authority." All the assumptions of infallibility previously made by the pope were now made by the council. A fat monk blurted out the real sentiments of the opposition: "John Hus, if the council should say that you have only one eye when you know that you have two eyes, it would be your duty to accept the decision of the council." "Not while I have my reason," replied Hus. To the casual observer it seems strange that a reform council should show so little sympathy with a reformer. We must remember that the council never for one moment thought of Hus as a reformer, but as a heretic. Hus and the council represented

methods of reform radically different. The council was for reform by Churchly authority. Hus represented a popular movement. When he arrived in Constance the very air was thick with prejudice. The commission of trial was a "judicial mob." Leaders of France against him! Germans against him! Enemies of Wyclif against him! Great scholastic party headed by Gerson, "the hammer of heretics," against him! Might of Church and might of empire all against him! He stood at a crisis in the affairs of men. Had he flinched dawning of modern liberty and reign of conscience would have been postponed. Hus knew not how to flinch. With steady step he walked to the stake. This was in Constance.

In Bohemia there rose a mad cry of vengeance. Some will not excuse the atrocities of the Hussite wars. Much in that fifteen years of red blood-flowing was out of harmony with the life of the fallen reformer. But Bohemia was goaded to madness. Will one say what that mother will do whose son has been struck down by the despot? What that uprising in France did is well known. "Black-browed mass full of grim fire," they marched toward Paris and the Bastile singing their Marseillaise hymn. They were "men who knew how to die," and they marched "to strike down the tyrant." The uprising in Bohemia was to resist the tyrant. Wenzel dead, Sigismond claimed the Bohemian crown. In outraged Bohemia there was one voice, "Sigismond, thou hast lied. Thy promise of safe conduct to our John Hus thou hast broken. Thy brother and his people thou hast betrayed. Traitor, while patriot blood flows in Bohemia's veins thou shalt never wear her crown." The pope sent flying bulls to command subjection. "All followers of John Hus must be put down." Now happens a miracle of the centuries. Bohemia, divided on many questions, is one in resistance to pope and emperor. Under the great black banner of Ziska, at Tabor, at Pilsen, at Prague, there is a brave struggle for independent Bohemian nationality. On a score of hills the Bohemians rally to the call of their leader. Rude pikes and wagon fortresses, iron flails, and fierce shouts of Hussite battle hymns terrify the enemy. The combined armies of emperor and pope march against Bohemia with all the shock of battle that the chivalry of the holy

Roman empire can bring. Little Bohemia drives them back. Now flies the flag of truce. Bohemia has won. Emperor and pope must try a new plan. The new plan was concession, intrigue, and war, ending in the battle of White Mountain, in 1620. After that, humiliation almost without a parallel, population reduced from three million to eight hundred thousand, little less than humiliation for two hundred years. Some indications of a new order of things there are toward the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but seen only beneath the surface; nothing is visible until 1848. Then Bohemia takes her place with the liberals of Europe in demanding a constitution and national government. When Bohemia was invited to a seat in the famous Frankfort Parliament which had for its purpose the unity of German peoples, Francis Palacky wrote a reply which voiced well the spirit of Bohemian nationality, "I am a Chekh, of Slav origin, and whatever I am worth is at the service of my country. It is true that my nation is small, but from the beginning it has possessed an historical individuality." This utterance of Palacky is bearing fruit in the recent demands of patriotic Chekhs. Speaking of the claims of modern Bohemians, one of their editors said not long ago, "What they demand and what they must get, and what they shall perennially struggle for, regardless of sacrifices in blood and treasure till they do get it, is equality of races in the Bohemian crown, equality of Bohemian language with the German in the administration, schools, and court of justice—home rule."

A single incident will serve to indicate the high place given to John Hus by the Chekhs of our time as a forerunner of the modern movement for home rule in Bohemia. In September, 1869, patriotic Bohemians and their sympathizers celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the reformer's birth by a demonstration in Prague and a pilgrimage to Hussine. This Hus festival, as they call it, began in the morning. First was an oratorio in which John Hus was the heroic character. The production was greeted with enthusiasm by the large audience which crowded the theater. In the evening a drama presented an epitome of Hus's life—the boy in college, the professor in the university, the preacher in Bethlehem Chapel, the reformer

facing corrupt Church authorities, the edict of excommunication and the exile, the reformer taking leave of his aged mother as he starts for Constance, the trial before the council, the martyrdom, and then Bohemia's heroic uprising to avenge the blood of one of her noblest sons. With each added scene the interest of the audience became more intense. During the last scene many stood on their feet with waving caps and huzzas. In the afternoon the crowd had gathered in Bethlehem Place. This is an open square in Prague on which once faced Bethlehem Chapel and the house in which Hus lived. There in the center of the square was a life-size statue of the reformer. The surrounding houses were decorated with boughs, flowers, flags, and streamers of various colors. In the windows above were the curious faces of many spectators. Crowded around the statue and filling the open space were the men and women who cherished the memory of John Hus. Speeches in honor of the reformer were loudly cheered. A chorus voiced the thought of the hour. At night the place was illuminated. Brilliant jets encircled the statue of Hus in a blaze of fire. The next morning six hundred excursionists started on the pilgrimage to Hussine. They were escorted to the railway station by an immense procession representing all the trade societies of the city—brewers in green and butchers in white; workingmen in blue tunics; detachments of the secret society of the Sokol in russet brown and rich red, walking with swinging stride; companies of firemen, their axes and helmets blazing in the morning sun; national guard in full military equipment; and bands of university students in fantastic dress, long rapiers hanging at their sides. The end of the procession was greeted with vociferous cheering. There, held aloft by patriotic arms, was the great black banner of Ziska—that banner which had announced defiance to emperor and pope trampling the rights of free and independent Bohemia. Eight hours by train, and the excursionists spent the night within a few miles of Hussine. The journey was completed the next morning. By eleven o'clock they were standing before the house in which Hus was born. The day was a memorable one—orators eloquently speaking patriotic thoughts; applause tumultuous and unconstrained; flags waving victori-

ously over the opposition of enemies; band playing national anthems; audience singing Hussite hymns; surrounding hills lighted at night with bonfires. Thus modern Chekhs honor John Hus.

The plea of Hus was for Bohemian control in Bohemian affairs, the Bohemian language, and religious freedom. The scheme outlined by the Chekhs to-day is almost identical. They demand equality of races. The electoral law of Austria is manifestly in favor of the Germans. Less than half the population, they have in the Reichsrath more than two hundred of the three hundred and fifty-five deputies. In 1893 Bohemia had thirty-four deputies to represent two million five hundred thousand of her Slavic population, and fifty-six deputies to represent one million five hundred thousand of her German population—or one representative for every twenty-six thousand Germans as against one for every seventy-three thousand Chekhs. It is not strange that the Chekhs of Bohemia complain against such law. They find also a menace in the fact that in the Austrian ministry all the members are Germans, representing ten millions of their countrymen living in Austria. The seventeen millions of Slavs do not have a single representative. The relations between the two parties in the Reichsrath are by no means harmonious. In November, 1892, a representative by the name of Blener made an appeal to the government for the protection of Germans in Prague. A young Chekh replied, charging upon the government the responsibility of any disturbances in the capital city of Bohemia. Councilor Menger undertook to answer him. He apostrophized the Bohemian state right as treasonable to Austria, and accused the Bohemian representatives of being traitors. The tumult which followed was similar to what is seen in the stormy sessions which sometimes occur in the French Chambers. In an instant the uproar was such that the presiding officer's voice could hardly be heard twenty feet from where he stood. "Take it back!" thundered again and again from the representatives of Bohemia and Moravia. In vain the president tried to secure order. He was finally compelled to adjourn the body amid the greatest confusion. The Slavic lion had been aroused. Next day, on motion of Massaryk, Wenger was censured by a

vote of one hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and four. The recent riotous proceedings are fresh in the minds of many. Such instances are at least an intimation that Austria cannot go too far in attempting to grind her heel into the neck of Bohemia. Bohemia is Austria's Ireland. The lieutenant governor is appointed by the sovereign. The highest legislative power in the land is the Diet, convoking in Prague, and composed of two hundred and forty-two members elected by the people. One archbishop, three bishops, and two university rectors hold their seats by virtue of office. The power exercised by the Diet is limited. Its deliberations depend upon the pleasure or displeasure of the emperor, who selects the presiding officer. What the Bohemians want instead of this is a local parliament with full power under the Bohemian crown. This they claim is their right. This right has been recognized by Francis Joseph on two occasions. In 1861 a body appointed by the Diet was sent to Vienna to claim the ancient privileges of the Bohemian kingdom. Replying to their address, the emperor said: "I shall get crowned in Prague as King of Bohemia, and I am convinced that this ceremony will cement anew the indissoluble tie of confidence and loyalty between my throne and my Bohemian kingdom." Again, in 1871, when Bohemia protested against Beust's *coup d'état* of dualism, the emperor was unable to rebut the opposition by oppressive measures, and submitted the following imperial rescript: "Recognizing the political importance of the crown of Bohemia, calling to mind the renown and glory which the crown has conferred upon our predecessors, a feeling of gratitude for the fidelity with which the Bohemian nation has supported our throne, we are ready to recognize the rights of the kingdom and to show this recognition by the coronation oath." Twenty years have gone and the promise is as yet unfulfilled. One thing seems clear. The weak, tortuous, and vacillating policy of Bohemia is mostly in the past. Bold, vigorous, and determined men have now a plan and propose to stand by it.

The demand for the recognition of the Chekh language has met with considerable success. Fifty years ago Prague, the capital of Bohemia, was regarded as a German city. "A few of us," writes Jacob Maly, one of the intrepid patriots of that

epoch, "would meet on each Thursday at the 'Black Horse,' then a first-class hotel in Prague, and give orders to the waiters in the Bohemian language, who of course understood us well. This we did with the intention of setting an example to others; but seeing the futility of our efforts in this direction we abandoned the ineffectual propaganda in disgust." In 1890 the enumerators of the census reported that of the one hundred and eighty-two thousand people living in the Prague district one hundred and fifty thousand declared themselves for the Bohemian language and twenty-nine thousand for the German. In 1881 the matter of a separate university was finally settled by creating two universities in Prague—German the language of one, Bohemian of the other. The attendance at these universities for the scholastic year of 1895–96 was as follows: 2,495 students attended the Bohemian, 1,259 the German division. No one can walk through the streets of Prague to-day without being reminded of this revived language, which has made for itself a place within recent years. Almost every store has two signs, one in German, the other in Bohemian. Nowhere is the influence of the revived language more marked than in the literature of Bohemia. In 1885 sixty-eight per cent of the books published in Prague were Bohemian and twenty-eight per cent German. In 1889 eighty-five per cent were Bohemian and a little more than eleven and one half per cent German. This revival of Bohemian literature has affected the whole intellectual life of Bohemia. Illiteracy is rapidly disappearing. According to the census of 1890 the ratio of adults unable to read and write was about nineteen and one half per cent. This compares favorably with the most advanced of European nations. Figures compiled in 1881 show the ratio of illiteracy in England to be sixteen per cent, France twenty-two per cent, Austria as a whole fifty-one per cent.

One of the tests of sympathy for the home rule movement in Bohemia is the use of the Bohemian tongue. At our World's Fair we had a striking illustration of that jealousy with which the Bohemians guard their mother tongue. When the Austrian minister ordered the German language to be put upon all Bohemian exhibits the provocation was such that when Austrian Day came not a Bohemian marched. But Bohemia

had her own day, when she spoke her own language, sang her own songs, and talked of her own independent nationality. These patriotic Chekhs remember the past. They point with pride to the days when Bohemia held high her head among the nations of Europe and when her word was potent in the affairs of state. With hopeful faces turned toward the future they declare that what Bohemia has been Bohemia shall be. "God made our land, rock-ribbed, well watered, and fruitful. True to the memory of our fathers, we shall make it free and independent." It is too early yet to prophesy what will be the outcome of this movement for home rule in Bohemia, but there are many who believe that the hopes of these modern Chekhs will yet be realized.

William L. Crawford

Art. II.—THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER.

Political economy is the study of wealth. Christianity is the life of love, justice, and moral character. Are we to believe that these are independent and unrelated fields of human activity? Or, if there is some relation between the two, is it intrinsic or accidental? Is wealth an essential part of Christianity, or is the management of wealth a lower and selfish life, while Christianity is a higher life whose duty it is to suppress the lower? The anarchy, injustice, and corruption of our present time are the outcome of false answers to these questions. We have on the one hand the orthodox and mercantile economists who say that "business is business;" that the laws of money, banking, taxation, capital and labor are as natural and inevitable as the laws of gravitation and the conflict of atoms. If the minister or the humanist ventures into their territory he is flattered as a sentimentalist and, like Plato's poet, is crowned with laurel and hastily conducted outside. These economists have no need of sentiment, for, as they say, the natural laws which they have discovered are already beautiful and benevolent. Only let them alone, and they will themselves work out a perfect harmony. On the other hand, we have the materialists of the socialist schools, who feel the hardships of society, who picture a better organization, and by these the minister is violently expelled without even a hint at the laurel. They also believe in a natural law of social evolution, before which man is helpless, but which is marked by violence and cataclysms instead of beauty and benevolence.

These two groups of materialists both claim to be scientific. They see that science has gradually conquered all the realms of thought below sociology—has transformed astrology into astronomy, has explained living creatures by the laws of biology rather than the will of Deity—and now, quite naturally, they would bring humanity under the reign of what they conceive to be the same inevitableness. A scientific explanation to them is a mechanical explanation in terms of matter and motion, and religion is unscientific. If such views were confined to

theorists and philosophers they would be only curious. But philosophy is current opinion become systematic and vocal. The orthodox economist speaks for the great unthinking business and employing class who, though they may not understand his philosophy, yet recognize his terms as their catchwords. They are as materialistic as he, though both may be the supporters of conventional religion. The wage-earning class, with their patent materialism of life, are the soil, if not the expounders, of the socialistic philosophy.

While these two schools of economic scientists look upon religion as sentimentalism the religious teacher looks upon economics as either atheism or antitheism. Unlike the mediæval theologian, he will, indeed, compromise with the business man and allow that usury and competition are necessary, and therefore not to be attacked in themselves. But these are business questions and not a part of the religious life of man; neither are they antireligious—they are simply without God—and must on Sunday be set aside in order to get near to him. But the revolutionary school they consider as plainly antitheistic, for with them environment, and not the individual, is the cause of sin and virtue, of faith and love. Such a view rejects the Spirit of God and moral responsibility in the individual soul. Thus we have an incompatibility, not only between science and religion, but also, more vital, between religion and life. The controlling forces of society in business and labor neglect and reject religion or use it for profit, while religion fails to transform the world, though it may elevate individuals here and there. This incompatibility is not only a moral one, growing out of the selfishness of the human heart; it is a philosophical one, growing out of inadequate views of political economy and religion. It is therefore not to be overcome merely by converting individuals to an inadequate religion, but also by making religion economic and economics religious.

The question of the relation between religion and economics is in its ultimate and broadest sense—the sense which underlies the materialistic as well as the theistic philosophies already mentioned—a question of the relation between the individual and his environment. Let us begin with this general phase of the subject and then narrow our inquiry down to the special

problems of economics. The word "environment" has, under the influence of the biological studies of the past generation, come to mean the sum of all those physical forces of nature which surround the individual animal or man, and which constitute the mold into which according to the laws of natural selection he is forced, and to which he is fitted by survival. When we hear the word "environment" we immediately think of soil, sky, climate, animals, plants, gravitation, attraction, cohesion. These are purely material products and forces, as distinguished from the products of man's intelligence and will, and for them the physicist and biologist have worked out natural laws of action and reaction, evolution and dissolution. Such a definition of "environment" is eminently appropriate when we are speaking of animals, but it is the misfortune of our so-called reign of science that when the term "environment" is introduced into human relations it carries with it the rigid connotations of matter, motion, force, law, necessity which have been acquired in the study of the lower orders of life. A little inquiry will show us that the environment of the human animal is very different indeed from that which the biologist is describing. The animal himself is very different, and his environment fits his character. In human society of an advanced stage the individual does not come into contact with the physical environment as such. Society has interposed a new one between him and nature. This new environment is artificial, the result of human intelligence and purpose. Mr. Lester F. Ward asserts* that the fundamental distinction between the animal and human method of progress is that "the environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the environment." This specification is indeed true, but it does not state the full difference. Professor Caird in his *Evolution of Religion* has pointed out that the weakness of the naturalistic school of comparative religions, as represented by Herbert Spencer, consists in the fact that they define religion by a common element sought for in all religions, rather than by a common principle from which they all spring; and that therefore their definition of religion reduces all to their lowest terms as found in fetich, ancestor, and nature worship, whereas its true

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definition must be looked for in its highest rather than its lowest form, just as the definition of man must be looked for in the grown man and not in the embryo or the infant. Likewise, in defining the environment which surrounds the human being we must be careful not to reduce it to its lowest terms as found among animals or savages, but to define it by its highest forms as found in advanced civilizations. By observing this principle we cannot fail to see the infinite contrast between the natural environment of the biologist and the social environment of the economist and moralist.

In order to understand the qualities of the social environment we need first to understand the character of man for whom such environment exists. This is a problem to be solved by the sciences which deal with religion, ethics, psychology, and biology. If we follow Professor Caird's rule and define man by the highest qualities which we find within him we shall begin with his religious nature, or rather with the beliefs and opinions concerning him which are derived from the religion we profess. It cannot be supposed that any explanation, however scientific, can take away the marvel of man's existence, his origin, his nature, and his goal. The larger part of man is beyond finite or scientific knowledge, and is in the realm of faith. Here religion is our reliance. The Confucian who worships ancestors and external nature, and the Brahman who worships a metaphysical abstraction of nature, both classify men according to a purely utilitarian view of their fitness to carry on the existing social, industrial, and political organization of their empires. The individual himself is not an end. The Buddhist, whose god is a mere nothing, condemns man to the same place. The Christian, whose God is a person and a Father, considers men as his children and therefore as persons. This is the highest conception of man that we know. It makes the goal of human evolution to be the development of moral character and personality in the individual. In this conception is involved all that ethics and psychology can teach us concerning morality and the human mind. The emphasis on brotherhood which is so strong in the ethics of the present generation tends to divert our attention from the true preeminence in Christianity of personality. Brotherhood is not the end; it is rather the

indispensable means toward establishing the highest expression of selfhood in all individuals. With such a conception as that of self-conscious personality we are not distressed by the revelations which biology makes. Biology shows us the road whence man has come, but not the goal whither he is going. It gives us his physical basis, but not his moral outlook. It teaches us that he has lived as an animal and may continue to live as such, but other sciences are needed to show us that he may be as a god, "knowing good and evil."

If personality and moral character are the highest attributes of a human being we are to consider, as far as finite science can help us, how such attributes are developed. They are the product of two factors, a biological and a sociological. The biological is the prolonged state of infancy and the elaborate brain structure which distinguishes man as an animal from other animals. By this is meant the prolonged plastic and unfolding state of the mind. This makes possible a development unknown to the animal, namely, education. It is education that shapes the habits, desires, character, and personality of every individual born into the world. Education is a spiritual and sociological process. It is the action of human beings organized in society upon the unfolding capacities of the infant, the child, the youth, the man. Given the original capacity, as shown by the laws of biology, the ultimate character is determined by education. Education is a far broader process than we are accustomed to think. It is the sum total of the social environment which makes the man, as contrasted with the physical environment which makes the animal. Deprived of a high educational environment, the child may remain on the level of brutes, as shown by the various known instances of the wolf-boy. Brought up with thieves, or paupers, or slaves, he aspires no higher, because he knows no better. With the advantages from infancy upward of a truly Christian home, school, Church, and State, he may become like his Master. The social environment which forms the character consists, not of earth and sky, flora and fauna, but of human beings. Human beings act upon each other, not through irregular or mystical vagaries, but according to definite modes of living, thinking, and doing. Out of centuries of associated

history they have become organized together into societies with long-developed means of mutual education. The foremost of these means, and one which marks the human environment as far remote from that of animals, is beliefs. By beliefs is meant all the knowledge, the opinions, the valuations, the hopes, the ideals which are dominant among the individuals of a given society. The instrument for transmitting these beliefs is language. The original and fundamental beliefs are religious, and in the course of history they break up into political, economic, domestic, and all the other sections of human activity. The beliefs in which one is reared are a decisive fact of one's environment. They reveal to his growing consciousness all that he knows of God, of himself, of his fellows, of nature; and all the original or direct knowledge which he may himself gain is but the elaboration, according to his personal character, of the current beliefs which are poured in upon him.

But the environment for each individual is not the whole of society. It is only that section or that class in which he is born and educated. Here we come to another no less important field of social life, that of social institutions, which, like beliefs, are the creatures of the moral character of the community. Institutions are the modes of association in which men live together in society. The fundamental institutions are the family, where language is first learned, and where the most lasting ideals are impressed at the most plastic period of life. Next are the school, the Church, the factory, the farm, the corporation, private property, government, the city, the State. These institutions are molders of character. They are not merely physical forces, nor are they abstractions, but they are human beings organized in permanent but slowly evolving relations. They are associations of moral beings, acting and reacting one upon another, and out of these relations spring the ruling beliefs of love, justice, charity, devotion, rights, and duties, which are the essential qualities of personality.

Lastly, in order that personality may be educated the individual must be raised above the natural struggle for existence in the physical world. Nature's products of food and shelter for the support of life are irregular, inadequate, and inferior,

while for the finer intellectual and spiritual wants they are wholly lacking. The fittest to survive in such an environment can never attain to self-consciousness and moral character. But society, through the institution of private property, creates a new physical environment of social products, and nature is thereby fitted to man instead of man to nature. It is these products that the economist calls wealth and capital. Social products are the material and forces of nature worked over by human thought and labor to satisfy human desires. They are no longer mere physical objects, but they have become spiritual and educational instruments whereby personality is unfolded. A regular supply of food, clothing, and shelter gives man leisure, which is the basis of thought and that self-examination which makes character. The religious and æsthetic nature is evoked through architecture, statuary, and painting. Letters are invented, and the material of nature becomes the vehicle for the accumulated literature, art, and philosophy of the race. Intellectual curiosity is aroused and the mind is stirred to activity in seeking the explanation of mechanisms which mind has devised. Finally, products become the means for the most varied expression of personality and character. Whether man degrades himself with intoxicants and poisons, whether he seeks power and glory, whether he rises to the heights of religion, philosophy, and devotion, his instruments are the material products of thought and labor. While social products raise man above nature they subordinate him to society. They are not the products of isolated individuals, but of the accumulated and imitated experiments of the race from the dawn of reason. Society in the act of producing them has created institutions of government and property which control their distribution. It therefore through them governs the individual, directly or indirectly. In the shape of food, clothing, shelter, they are essential to his life; and society, by giving them to him or withholding them under the varied forms of wages, profits, interest, rents, charity, punishment, forces him or persuades him into harmony with the beliefs and institutions of the day. Then, too, an army of products in the form of guns, prisons, guillotines, and munitions of war are designed for the direct subordination of

individuals and masses. Thus the social environment consists of beliefs, institutions, and products. These are the expression of man's spiritual nature, evolved from his life as a social being, and in turn destined to evoke in succeeding generations a similar spiritual character.

Political economy is the study of social products—the way in which they are created, distributed, and used by society and individuals. It is therefore an essential part of the study of human character and personal development. There would seem to be no subject of more importance to the Christian minister who aims to know both God and man. Two things need to be observed in order to meet objections in the minds of many:

1. In emphasizing political economy we are indeed emphasizing the environment, rather than the individual, and there are those who consider this to be a denial of the direct influence of the Holy Spirit in the individual soul through prayer or otherwise, and therefore as atheistic and materialistic. We have shown that it is not materialistic, because products and institutions are made by human beings under the motive of beliefs, with the express purpose of intercepting the purely physical environment of nature. Now, whatever may be our theory of the operations of the Holy Spirit and of prayer, there can be no doubt that they operate through human relations. Very meager indeed would be our ideas of God were it not for the loving education and life of father, mother, brother, teacher, preacher. The lessons of Jesus come to us across oceans and centuries in the form of current beliefs, of institutions formed more or less on his principles, and of social products in the form of written and printed records. Products and institutions are not merely material things, they are the vehicles of personality. They emphasize the fact that each one is his brother's keeper; that so bound together is the human race by a living spiritual union that every soul that is born will be lost or saved through the actions of others. He who denounces the doctrine of the social environment is denying, like Cain, his responsibility for the salvation of his brother. The fact that in the city of Syracuse hard-working women are sewing wrappers that sell for ninety-eight cents at

five cents apiece, that a man and his wife in making trousers can earn together in sixteen hours a day only $1.25, and that as a result of these industrial conditions the children are growing up on the streets without a home and a mother's care, and are rapidly swelling the army of juvenile crime and vice—these facts are due to the selfishness of all living in Syracuse and the State of New York who are greedily seeking our own comfort unmindful of the degradation in others which our inhumanity causes. And no disavowal of our responsibility, no matter how sanctimonious our charge of atheism, can rid us of the hard truth that we ourselves, and not God nor nature, are the social environment which sends these little ones to a life and an hereafter of infamy.

2. Another objection to political economy is its supposed advocacy of self-interest as a scientific requisite. This objection is based on a misapprehension. A true science does not advocate anything, it only seeks facts and principles. Self-interest is found on investigation to be a ruling constant factor in the industrial life of all peoples, and it is to the credit of political economy that it recognizes this truth. There is a wide difference between a science of what is and an opinion of what ought to be. Men are selfish and even inhuman in their economic relations, and there can be no disregard of the serious problems that confront Christianity more fatuous and cruel than the optimistic quietism which coolly assumes that love and altruism are the ruling forces in society. Political economy simply attempts in the largest of all fields of human life, the industrial, to work out the laws of the sternest of human facts, self-interest.

But there is a certain plausibility for this objection in the attitude of certain economists, now happily out of date, who do not recognize that political economy is a science of narrow limitations. Such economists have sometimes seemed to hold that political economy justifies what it merely assumes. It assumes the existence of the prevailing institutions and beliefs, and shows how these institutions operate upon the motives of self-interest. It assumes the existence of the family, of private property, of free labor, of government, of legal machinery. Self-interest has been likened to the steam, institutions

to the engine, which directs the energy of steam. These institutions are anterior. Political economy shows how they bring about their characteristic results. There may therefore be an economics of feudalism; an economics of slavery, of conquest; an economics of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Christianity, showing the results of these institutions and ethical systems on the production, distribution, and use of the good things of society. If institutions bring forth peace, justice, happiness, or conflict, oppression, and misery, it is political economy that shows why such is the case. Institutions can be modified. They are the product of human beliefs and wishes. It is here that the ethical forces operate to the greatest advantage—in molding institutions so that, notwithstanding the constant strength of self-interest, more humane and nobler men may be educated. The factory legislation of England is a familiar illustration of this principle. That legislation did not abolish self-interest; it has directed it into humane channels. It has prohibited the work of women and children in factories after night and for long hours, has required sanitary and wholesome surroundings, and as a result within two generations has rescued many of the work people of England from the unspeakable degradation into which their parents had been crushed. It is true, the economists opposed that legislation, but so did the ministers. The one held that self-interest was beneficent and would ultimately cure the ills of society, without seeing that the laws of private property were the machinery which directed the forces of self-interest. The others failed to see what they were anointed to see, that moral character and personal integrity are more important than wealth and fortunes. If the ministers had known anything of political economy we can hardly believe they would have made the fatal omission that the economists made.

The severest charge Jesus brought against the spiritual leaders of his day was, not that they were immoral according to our private standards, but they were "blind leaders of the blind," and could not discern the signs of the times. Unfortunately, this has been characteristic of the established ministry of all ages. When Lincoln was a candidate for President

but three of the twenty-three ministers of his own city of Springfield voted for him, and this incident discouraged him more than anything else in his campaign. Social institutions are in a constant change and evolution. Forms of government, of the family, of the Church, of private property are by no means the same as they were a generation ago. All these institutions originated as coercive instruments for controlling the masses and the weaker classes in the interests of the few and the strong. The family began as private property in women and children; industry and government, as property in men and the soil; the Church, as an alliance of the shrewd and intelligent with the military rulers for the control of the working classes through their superstitions. All these institutions were designed to suppress moral character and personality on the part of the masses, in behalf of freedom and leisure for the rulers. The development of institutions from primitive times to the present has consisted, not in abolishing the principle of coercion, but in elevating those who were suppressed into partnership with those who owned them. The family has become a cooperative association of lovers. Government and the control of industry are open to the serf and the slave. The Church by losing its monopoly of learning has begun to save the souls and upbuild the character of the formerly despised chattels. Thus the growth of institutions under the impulse of Christian beliefs has been the emancipation of the millions and the opening up to them of opportunities for the free expression of moral character. This movement is still in progress. Its field is no longer the scene of the spectacular overthrow of the Church by a Luther, of despotism by a Washington, or of slavery by a Lincoln; but it is in the more profound and fundamental institution underlying all others, that of property rights in the products and privileges of society. In our day this is the substance of the science of political economy, namely, the ways and means whereby the institution of private property combined with self-interest works out the weal or woe of human beings, the suppression or elevation of moral character. He who would discern the signs of the times in these profoundly complicated and subtile relations of modern

society based upon property rights must not depend alone upon any supposed insight and divine inspiration such as perhaps might have been relied upon when the patent wrong of chattel slavery was the problem of the day, but must be a close student of the industrial conditions that surround him, of the homes and lives of the workers, of the earning and spending of money, in short, of the entire economics of private property. Not only this, but also, if he would see this institution develop into a means of salvation for the whole race now bound together in its embrace, he must know its origin and present condition and the nature of the forces now working to change it. The changes which it is now undergoing are deep and far-reaching. Great corporations, powerful politicians, lawyers, judges, legislatures are all busily engaged in remodeling it. Are these changes now going on to be guided by the Christian principle of brotherhood and the upbuilding of moral character in the masses of the people, or are they to be the reactionary grasp of power by the favored few with an inevitable subservience and lowering of moral tone, not only in the millions of victims, but also in the thousands of usurpers? We cannot quietly assume that all will work out well because indeed we believe that "God's in his heaven." God makes each man responsible both for himself and for his fellow-men. He will not save either a society or a man that will not strive to fulfill these moral responsibilities. But, recognizing his responsibility, what moral teacher can be so fanatical as to suppose that God in answering his prayers will also relieve him from hard study, and that therefore without special knowledge he can be of service to his fellows in meeting these abstruse and vitally practical problems? Shall he simply in trite and vague terms implore the observance of love and humanity in all our industrial dealings, or shall he jump at once into the controversies of capital and labor, of creditor and debtor, and declare *ex cathedra* on which side lie justice and honesty? If he does the former his service may be a lip service only. If he does the latter he may expose himself to ridicule and may exacerbate the evil he was commissioned to cure.

We do not purpose to lay down any code or schedule of

sermons for any minister. It would be a mad assurance to insist that one man's mission is every man's mission. Each is his own judge as to his place in promoting the kingdom of God. We merely hold that economic problems are moral problems; that they are the vital problems of to-day, and upon their solution depends the survival of a Christian or a brutal civilization; that they are to be solved by human beings either inspired by a belief in the divine sonship of men or moved by an acquiescence in animal indulgence; that, as one or the other of these ideals gains control, will the institution of property be revised so as to produce the very character of men in coming generations who shall answer to the creative ideals of those who now revise it; and that therefore he whose interest is the moral character of men must thoroughly know the social conditions that decide the outcome of character, so that whether he speak, or whether he keep silent, he shall speak with wisdom or show by his silence still greater wisdom. It was a painful humiliation when an eminent minister spoke to a company of intelligent socialists upon the impossibility of dividing up property equally among all men. The so-called alienation of the working people from the Churches is owing to the ignorance on the part of the ministers of the profound economic conditions that control with iron-like power their daily lives and their homes. Industry is no longer conducted on a private isolated basis, where a single employer makes a contract for wages with a single laborer, but employers have consolidated their interests under the protecting care of government in huge corporations, while the employees of a single corporation by hundreds and thousands are no longer looked upon as men but as "hands," and are known not by names but by numbers. In the face of this revolution the courts, the press, the pulpit glorify the work of Lincoln and the apostles of human freedom, and insist that this freedom is now violated if the workmen themselves in their turn struggle to organize in labor unions for a partnership contract for wages instead of an individual contract. They fail to perceive that the corporation is no longer an individual, though by the legal fiction of an "artificial person" it is so considered, and so they do not see that the justice

which our fathers won by freeing the slave is now nullified by insisting on the same kind of primitive justice which was then the ambition of both laborer and emancipator. This is one of the signs of the times.

Economic questions are rapidly becoming political questions, and national and local parties are formed for their solution by government. In the last campaign we saw probably one of the most abstruse of these questions placed suddenly before the American people for decision at the ballot box. Many ministers felt it their duty to take sides strongly before the public on the ground that this was a moral question rather than one merely economic. In so doing it is doubtful whether in the majority of cases the cause of religion or of candid treatment of social problems received any help. To denounce six and a half millions of the farmers and artisans of the country as anarchists, repudiators, and fools, or seven million merchants, bankers, and laborers as conspirators and dupes, may have been justifiable if there were a clear issue of dishonesty, but where the question of honesty turned on a sound knowledge both of economic principles and of world-wide economic movements for the past thirty years it cannot be said that a hot appeal to moral issues has strengthened morality when the economic groundwork has not been thoroughly mastered. The people, whether they agree or disagree with the minister's conclusions, will sooner or later understand his weakness. The man ignorant of economics cannot tell when he is or is not the tool of greedy partisan interests, and it becomes a serious matter to the minister if the forfeiture of his hold as an economic authority is to carry with it a loss of influence on the moral issues of the day.

Besides the problems of the production and distribution of wealth political economy is concerned with the consumption or use of wealth. Here the moral and social aspects come immediately and prominently to view. The declining days of all great civilizations have been marked by extravagant outbursts of ostentation and orgies of luxury on the part of the ruling classes, together with ignoble pauperism and drunkenness on the part of the submerged. In our day the most astounding doctrines are proclaimed from pulpit and press

concerning the beneficence of the rich who scatter their wealth in banquets and balls and gorgeous living, all for the sake of the poor. It is difficult for economists of whatever school to listen with patience to such panegyrics. Here they are practically agreed, and their lessons are unmistakable. The causes and effects of luxury are economic subjects. In economics only can we find a clear definition of luxury, because the economist is compelled to investigate its effects on industry, wealth, and welfare. Luxury, like pauperism, is the badge of parasitism, for it marks the line beyond which useful services cease to be given to society in return for such support as will develop one's powers of service to the utmost. Luxury is a relative term, for the luxuries of one generation are the comforts and then the necessaries of following generations. For this reason the term lends itself readily to vague and sophistical excuses and becomes a pitfall for the earnest minister who is not firmly grounded in its economic usage.

The subject of luxury is involved in one of the fundamental doctrines of political economy, namely, the standard of living. This is with many economists the foundation rock of their doctrine of wages, and it is with all an important part of that doctrine. The standard of living is a truly moral and ethical fact. It covers all the wants of the family and individual, from the necessaries of food to the wildness of dissipation or the nobility of worship and devotion. All these wants must be served by material products, or for wages, salaries, and profits. Both in the effort to understand economics and in the effort to elevate the life and industry of the people the minister finds a congenial and inspiring field if he masters the truly noble contributions which economists have made to the doctrine of the standard of living.

There are many other topics in political economy which might be cited as of practical value to the minister. We have touched only upon the underlying principles and the more salient topics. The subject is so large and complex that it must not be thought a mere incidental reading of a few recommended books aside from the press of other duties will give more than a sandy foundation. The science of political economy is not yet completed and reduced to text-book form, like

astronomy or physics. In the very nature of the science it will always be a field of conflicts. It deals with the most vital and selfish interests of men. Some one has said that the propositions of Euclid would find opponents if there were any money to be earned in opposing them. Political economy can never escape from this fate. There are several different schools of economists. The differences among them are not so much in matters of logic and deduction as in matters of ethics and emphasis. The different schools may be said to be based on the different economic interests of conflicting classes in society. We have the economics of bankers, the economics of merchants, of farmers, of creditors, of debtors, of labor unions, of socialists and anarchists. Consciously or unconsciously, every economist, no matter how candid or cold-blooded, has leanings of sympathy or association toward one or more of these classes, and he is therefore certain to bend his science in that direction. The outsider who comes to the science with a fresh mind and a moral purpose must go very far into its maze of conflicting interests before he can feel rightly confident that it is of service to him in his ministrations. He must be able after reading a page of an author to locate the class which the author represents. It is to be hoped that the science will outgrow this chaotic stage, but in order to do so its true nature must be recognized as largely the orderly expression of the conflicting interests of social classes. When it comes to be studied, criticised, and perfected by those whose object it is, not to promote class supremacy, but to build up character and moral personality in every human being, then we may expect to see a truly social economics that shall not drive men apart, but shall be a powerful instrument toward uniting them in brotherhood.

John R. Commons.

Art. III.—BROWNING'S "PARACELSUS."

Robert Browning is not only "the poet's poet;" his trend of thought and mode of treatment make him just as distinctively the preacher's poet. Yet the poet and the preacher are very closely related, and if there be one poem in Browning's voluminous work which especially appeals to both types of men, that poem is "Paracelsus." And, because of this double capacity, this same poem most richly repays the devotion of any active student of poetry and of life. For here is not only a character, but a creation, whose central idea is the common, human, irresistible desire to know. This is the student's special sphere, and this exposition determines with the master's finest power the proper place of this inherent force in the scheme of ideal development.

The first reading of the poem is a most propitious introduction to that Phillipus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus Hohenheim who discarded this redundant nomenclature for the single word that proclaimed his superiority to Celsus, and whose history so well portrayed the distinctive aspect of his distinctive age. But the production in itself is so prodigal of exalted strength and beauty and so fully satisfies the hunger of the soul for large and lovely lines that even in repeated reading one might well forget the "red-veined humanity" and the "pure, crude fact" without which the poem had never come to be. Yet when one has fairly grasped the motive and the power of this exponent of Browning's art, turning it round about as showing the young man's enthusiastic treatment of a subject that defines so well the poet's natural bent, and revealing the aspiration and the skill whose early promise has been so nobly justified; when he has considered the simplicity and perfection of the dramatic development, and the charm of compressing so much vitality and suggestion into a poem of such easy proportions; when he perceives, and in a measure possesses, some vivid reflection of the psychological insight that lies at the heart of it all—then he is ready to consider the relation of raw material to creative values, and to decide whether or not Browning has spoken true when he says that this

rhythmical presentation of Paracelsus might be interleaved between the pages of any memoir of the real, existent man. It may be that the fascination of the poem for a moment colors the study of actualities, but in the abundance of biographical information and the contradictory views of the various authorities Browning is left behind, and the sober estimate of the authentic verities in the case exerts its own importance. And once within the realm of reality, once enveloped in the atmosphere of his own time, the Paracelsus of history induces so great an interest that one is almost tempted to make the poetic interpretation subsidiary to the wonderful actual story of this contemporary of Luther and Melanchthon, this friend of Erasmus, this healer of Froben, the printer of the sacred word.

But our purpose demands only the briefest summary of the special elements which made of Paracelsus a character so fully fitted to Browning's early need. And so it will suffice that we have found that the real Paracelsus was the son of a hospital matron and a physician who lived, in 1490, the year of his birth, at Einsiedeln, near Zurich; that he was a direct descendant of the distinguished family of Bombast, and a near relative of a certain George de Hohenheim who was Grand Prior of the order of Malta; that the teaching of his father in the rudiments of alchemy, surgery, and medicine, the tutelage of the monks of St. Andrew, a season at the University of Basel, and the instruction of Trithemius of Spanheim, who was so famous an adept in the arts of magic and astrology, preceded a ten-years' pilgrimage through various countries for the independent pursuit of scientific, cabalistic, and experimental knowledge; that through the influence of Œcolampadius, whom he had cured of a serious disease, he became professor of physic, medicine, and surgery in the school of his youth, only to flee, after a brief popularity, from the enemies he had made by his stupendous arrogance, and began another period of wandering, to find refuge at last with the Archbishop of Salzburg; and that his career was abruptly closed at this place when he was but forty-eight years of age. We know, also, that while this brief transcription expands into a quaint and curious story in regard to the man's intensity of purpose and marvelous independence—as

relating to sorcery and surgery, chemistry and medicine, to faith and theosophy and the secrets of nature, to neoplatonism and everyday intercourse with all sorts and conditions of men —there is nowhere a hint of the love that softens pride, or any touch of that domestic influence which holds a man most firm and true. Everywhere and always there is only the passion to know, and to know for himself, the spirit and office of the human entity and the universe surrounding it. He was so proud of his skill, so self-assertive and presumptuous, he seemed to have no place for charity of any kind; yet he gave his goods most freely to the poor and ministered faithfully to their diseases. He was considered by some a charlatan, a necromancer, a juggler, a quack, a vagabond, a drunkard; and yet he also appears as the "father of modern chemistry," the reformer of medical understanding and practice, and a marvel of grave persistence and sober industry. He is degraded on the one hand to the lowest stages of pretension and vulgarity, and elevated on the other to be the only fitting compeer for Erasmus and Luther.

Taking the middle course, he was beyond doubt one of those strangely vigorous and independent men whose mission depends upon strange and vigorous action. He believed in himself and God; he drew his dearest learning direct from nature, which he found irrevocably interwoven with God and himself; he sought in the black arts of the time the spirit that transcends and informs all possible skill, and his written words are not infrequently the language of the poet, the soothsayer, and the revealer. In a word, he was a genius whose greatness was limited by a most erratic disposition, whose freedom was restricted by ignorance and superstition, and whose attitude toward the essential verities of life in its greatest grasp and comprehension was twisted and strained by continual perversion. Yet with all his glaring faults he was permeated with an irresistible and unqualified power, and one can readily imagine how such a character would appeal to the young Browning in the first full consciousness of his own inherent quality and its immense capacity for service and expression. The "Fragment of a Confession" as depicted in "Pauline" had already revealed the fundamental idea that "little else is worth study" but "the

development of a soul." In this initial work the poet discloses the strenuous individuality, the strong self-supremacy of the

> Principle of restlessness
> Which would be all, have, see,
> Know, taste, feel, all

things possible to the humanity that yearns to God with an intensity that will not be satisfied until the prayer be answered.

> Let me for once look on thee
> As though naught else existed, we alone

And the time had now come for a more complete and distinctive treatment of his conception. He was to be through all his life the poet of realistic, urgent manhood; he was to use as no one else had done the beauty and virility of mediæval history and the new *renaissance;* he had, above all things else, to body forth the spiritual significance of his own time, and with all this fertile force the nature of Paracelsus was allied to his own by intrinsic right as well as poetic selection. The conception of such a character was as old as the first temptation. The desire for knowledge, as well as the element of single-handed effort, had been employed in many degrees of mastery, and had reached a most artistic culmination in Goethe's epic and the "Manfred" of Byron. But Browning had a new method. He discarded at once all symbolic machinery, though the work is full of symbolism. He has no use for angels or demons or witches or spirits, for his is the attitude, sure and simple, of the Creator toward the creature, and the unfolding drama of the spirit needs for him no adventitious aids. The office of the poet as he understands it, is to see as God sees; so in the opening book of "Paracelsus" the mind of the man is at once revealed. The critical mood may cavil at the long monologues and closely knit passages throughout the work, but one cannot conceive a better plan or more fitting construction for the purpose in view. Paracelsus strives, and he attains according to his early ideas, and something more—there is the interweaving of the essential element that he has discarded. Then comes the period of apparent success, with its yawning depths of failure and despair, followed by the changing attitude and other aspiration, with

the final attainment of the whole complex and irrevocable action.

These are natural divisions in many a strenuous, gifted life, and as the drama opens there is never an eager, enthusiastic student who does not recognize himself in the young Paracelsus who pours out his heart to those two dear friends, that "perfect pair"—the quiet mountain priest, the strong and tender Festus, and Michal, who is "very woman" and his wife? He, too, has worn the night out thus in some quiet Einsiedeln of his own, and spoken out his surety and his dreams beneath the sympathy that never failed and the faith that could not betray. It does not matter that Paracelsus towers so far above us; the touch of truth declares our kin, and as we read the study of creative process is illumined with the sense that it is our struggle, our story, and our spiritual renewal that is rounded and rested before us. We are lifted at once to the highest ground. The youth is assured that he is to be "God's commissary," and he will listen no longer to the teaching of the schools; the open book of the world is the only study for such as he. To know, to know for his own supremacy, through his own unaided effort, yet to

> Know, not for knowing's sake,
> But to become a star to men forever—

this is his passionate purpose; and he sees his way "as birds their trackless way," believing that as he goes to prove his soul he "shall arrive" in God's "good time." The kindling eye, the impetuous fervor, the royal spirit, above all, the gleam of holy fire, carry with them the force of conviction. But Festus, even in his loyalty and admiration, discovers a "plague-spot." Granted that the time has come for "new light to dawn from new revealings," and that Paracelsus is singled out for such a lofty mission, when he declares in response to Michal's faith,

> If I can serve mankind
> 'Tis well; but there our intercourse must end:
> I never will be served by those I serve,

the less ambitious but wiser man implores him not to cut himself off from human sympathy, but to

> Give up . . . some part
> Of the glory to another; hiding thus,
> Even from yourself, that all is for yourself.

And Michal adds,

> Stay with us, Aureole! Cast these hopes away,
> And stay with us! An angel warns me, too,
> Man should be humble; you are very proud;
> And God, dethroned, has doleful plagues for such!
> —Warns me to have in dread no quick repulse,
> No slow defeat, but a complete success:
> You will find all you seek, and perish so!

But all their argument and entreaty are in vain. His eloquence and his faith in himself produce renewed confidence in his friends, and he goes out upon his quest declaring that he will retain enough of life's delight to sustain his soul, that the "truth is within ourselves," and that

> To know
> Rather consists in opening out a way
> Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
> Than in effecting entry for a light
> Supposed to be without;

and we can but feel that such an aim as this must have God's warrant, as well as the poet's seal, that pride has its service in such devotion, and that the blotch of depravity is thus effaced.

But this is in no wise the right conclusion. When we see Paracelsus again it is in Constantinople, whither he goes in the historical narrative to obtain Trismegistes's formula for the elixir of life, and the poetical development takes on a deep spiritual significance beside which the continuance of physical existence has but little importance. Paracelsus, sitting alone in the house of the conjurer, for the first time in the crowded years that have hurried by faces himself and his attainments in the record of his life that he has written at command of the "arch-genethliac." For the first time he has dared to

> Come to a pause with knowledge; [and] scan for once
> The heights already reached, without regard
> To the extent above.

And the result? He has subdued his life to the one purpose, sacrificed everything to the one end, only to confess in his unflinching inquiry,

> Then God was pledged to take me by the hand;
> Now, any miserable juggle can bid
> My pride depart.

And the bitterest thought of all is that he may not wholly convince himself that his aims remain supreme and pure; and as he reviews the cherished stores that have been wrung from every possible source he has no better word for all his toil than to say that it may be

> Slipt in the blank space 'twixt an idiot's gibber
> And a mad lover's ditty.

But human despair is divine opportunity. Aprile appears—Aprile, the poet, who would "love infinitely and be loved," and who bows before Paracelsus as one who has attained all that he himself has missed, and hails him as a king; Aprile, who is all emotion as Paracelsus is all intellect; Aprile, who would be the maker, the seer, the friend and redeemer of suffering humanity, and yet has gazed upon his glorious ideal so long that he is blinded and broken with very brightness. Still, by very virtue of his office, even in his deadly weakness, he reveals the vital force that Paracelsus had always refused to consider, and out of his hungry heart the latter exclaims,

> Love me henceforth, Aprile, while I learn
> To love; . . .
> I too have sought to know as thou to love—
> Excluding love as thou refusedst knowledge.
> Still thou hadst beauty and I, power. . . .
> . . . We must never part.
> . . . . . .
> Till thou, the lover, know; and I, the knower,
> Love—until both are saved.

But Aprile's work is that of the spirit, and he passes wholly into the spiritual dominion, leaving Paracelsus no longer a "beggarly diver," but a "prince with his pearl."

Surely, now that he has acknowledged his error, now that he has received the nobler insight that he has lacked before, Paracelsus will press forward to the ends where love and knowledge are perfectly united. But such a nature leaps across the middle ground from one extreme to the other. Half a decade later, in the midst of the applause that breaks about his Basel professorship, he confesses to the faithful Festus that he had tried to live a while like the "mad poet"

for love alone, and found himself too warped and twisted and deformed, and he returned to his old life, "assured, at length," the early hopes "were vain;" that the truth is as far away as ever; that he has thrown his life away; and that

> Sorrow
> On that account is idle, and further effort
> To mend and patch what's marred beyond repairing
> As useless.

He looks upon the results of his twenty years' labor as dust and ashes, scorns the quick acclaim that greets him as

> Life's dispenser,
> Fate's commissary, idol of the schools.

His licenses and titles from the learned nations are less than naught to him as he goes back step by step over the terrible way, revealing every pitfall that has closed about him, and rejecting all excuse or comfort or aid that the devoted Festus can suggest. "Love, hope, fear, faith," the "sign and note and character" of humanity, seem to be shut away from him forever; and yet, because the poet still summoned him to serve his race at once and give his gains, imperfect as they are, to men, he has accepted—he who had thought to be the "greatest and most glorious man" in all the world—

> The petty circle lotted out
> Of infinite space

in the Basel University. And though he cannot hope to change his soul, for he must

> Still hoard and heap and class all truths
> With one ulterior purpose,

though he still must know, must feel as if God should translate him to his throne, that he should listen to his word to further his own aim—so long as he is permitted he will seek to wake the spirit of advance, to make his followers worthy of the weapons that he alone is able to supply. And though there is no buoyancy or joy in turning to account the salvage from the past, it is fraught with a glimmer of the goodness of God, as the night is filled with the promise of day.

Perhaps he will receive, he says, some token that God approves his penance; but the light seems so faint and far away

that Festus can realize nothing but despair. Yet he must stand, as he has always done, for quiet conscience and the tenderness that never fails; and as he bids him farewell he begs of Aureole to call him to his side if he should ever hope and trust and strive again, and by his word foreshadows that this indeed must be. And the waiting is not long, for two years later the summons comes from Colmar, whither Paracelsus has fled from the malevolence his mode of teaching has aroused, and Festus finds him flushed with wine, cursing Basel and its magnates "soul and limb," making verses to express the moment's feeling, and eagerly proclaiming to his "first, best, only friend" that he aspires once more. He heaps up his contempt in the most scathing invective, and questions with a new *hauteur* whether he shall "sink beneath such ponderous shame" or bow to it submissively and live as the littleness of Basel dictates, using his great knowledge as her puny wits allow; then he breaks off to declare that he is setting out to embrace his earliest aims again, and when Festus asks,

> The aims? to know? and where is found
> The early trust?

he replies, "The aims—not the old means," calls himself a laughingstock and a fool, chants the funeral song of his dead fancies, and jeers at it because its "sandal-buds" and "aloe-balls" smack so much of his "old vocation." Finally at Festus's entreaty he becomes serious and coherent again, and says,

> This is my plan (first drinking its good luck)—
> I will accept all helps; all I despised
> So rashly at the outset, equally
> With early impulses, late years have quenched:
> I have tried each way singly: now for both!
> . . . . . .
> I seek to know and to enjoy at once,
> Not one without the other as before.
> Suppose my labor should seem God's own cause
> Once more, as first I dreamed,—it shall not balk me
> Of the meanest, earthliest, sensualest delight
> That may be snatched; for every joy is gain,
> And gain is gain, however small.

And when Festus interposes with a warning against repeated error he paints a vivid picture of the success he shall attain

in linking joy to knowledge; and, when the steadfast heart would plead with him to redeem the past and discard the plan that is the merest makeshift, he sings that magnificent

> Rhyme of the men who proudly clung
> To their first fault, and withered in their pride.

Then Festus makes his merciful appeal,

> Come back then, Aureole; as you fear God, come!
> This is foul sin; come back! Renounce the past,
> Forswear the future; look for joy no more,
> But wait death's summons amid holy sights,
> And trust me for the event—peace, if not joy.
> Return with me to Einsiedeln, dear Aureole!

But Paracelsus only brings forth his terrible passion, his wretched weakness and remorse for his reply. Yet through all the "morphew and furfair" that he discloses the "mountain-cloistered priest" holds strong and true, saying,

> There are old rules, made long ere we were born,
> By which I judge you, . . .
> . . . And I blame you where they bid,
> Only so long as blaming promises
> To winpeace for your soul. . . .
> I have relied on love: you may have sinned,
> But you have loved. As a mere human matter—
> As I would have God deal with fragile men
> In the end—I say that you will triumph yet!

Then in their united sorrow over the death of Michal, Paracelsus reveals his full belief that "we do not wholly die," and with another change of feeling rails at the rabble he is to face again, and bids them "Leave a clear arena for the brave" who are "about to perish" for their sport; and with his proud "*Behold!*" we wait the closing scene.

Thirteen years have spent their force, and Paracelsus has been stricken down by his malicious rivals, and Festus, wellnigh spent with grief, watches by the unconscious form in the narrow cell that is to be glorified by the passing of a great spirit. At last there is a glimmer of intelligence, and the suffering soul seems to feel the presence of Aprile, who in his thought has chanted softest music all the night; then he goes back over all the weary way, recalling "Latin, Arab, Jew, Greek," who "join dead hands" against him, the "Per-

sic Zoroaster," who was "lord of stars," and a "serpent-queen" who somehow symbolized "sweet human love," clinging through his torturing fancies to his poet, whom he implores to keep close by, for very life, as the "loathsome death-trap" of his disordered vision closes in about them. Then as his mind grows clearer he rests his case upon the mercy of God, and the great truth that "there needs another life to come." He leans his broken frame on Festus's strength and calmly considers the obstacles that taught him quackery and deceit,

> Envy and hate,
> Blind opposition, brutal prejudice,
> Bald ignorance—what wonder if I sunk
> To humor men the way they most approved?

and begs, as he gives up the fight, to be laid in some obscure nook where he shall be remembered only as a man among the humblest of his kind.

He has learned humility at last, and now the time has come for the full delivery of his message, God's message to the world. His

> Foot is on the threshhold
> Of boundless life;

his cheek is young again, and all the happy and endearing manner of his youth comes back to him as he springs from his couch, throws on his ceremonial gown, and with his signet ring upon the hand that clasps his sword, his "trusty Azoth," bids his

> Wretched cell become
> A shrine, for here God speaks to men through me.

In perfect happiness once more he begins with that "happy time" wherein he "vowed" himself "to man," and in a grandeur that none may question he touches closely on his true attainment. He defines his early nature as instinct with God, and fraught with his own Nemesis and his own destiny, and realizes its relation to God's unfolding plans for the life of the world. He understands now the proper relations of knowledge and power and love, and how it came that men "received with stupid wonder" his "first revealings" when he had learned through Aprile "the worth of love in man's estate" by "love's undoing;" for in his

> Own heart love had not been made wise
> To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,
> To know even hate is but a mask of love's,
> To see a good in evil, and a hope
> In ill success.

Now he knows just why he failed, and is ready to say,

> Let men
> Regard me, and the poet dead long ago
> Who loved too rashly; and shape forth a third
> And better-tempered spirit, warned by both.

And here is the heart of the whole matter. The poet's most effective office is that of the preacher, the teacher; and in this work that this particular poet has placed before us he would impress upon every individual soul the middle course that would prevent the error of Aureole in trying to bring infinity into the earthly round, and the weakness of Aprile in ignoring the good, strong, practical world. He would have us understand that knowledge and power in all their multiform phases can reach their complete tenure only in the perfect balance of character that gives to every element of activity its rightful due. He would not have us exalt reason at the expense of love, for love in its triple essence is not only the fundamental principle of life, but "the fulfilling of the law" upon which all continuity must depend. Yet the devotion to love at the expense of reason is the other extreme that argues equal disaster. Aprile is quite as much in the wrong as Paracelsus, and has perchance even a greater need for another world, to gain what he has failed to grasp in this. He is in no wise a typical poet, for the typical poet possesses power as well as beauty; but in no other guise could he convey the truth that lies in love's misguidance, and thus he receives a touch of the force that vivifies beauty even as Paracelsus takes on, in the end, the phase of beauty that informs all genuine power.

And reading the lesson objectively we "shape forth" the "better-tempered spirit" by blending the opposing elements, and rejoicing in the skill with which they are portrayed in the character of Festus, who has neither the intellectual quality of Paracelsus nor the rich, emotional nature of Aprile,

yet is inspired with that high wisdom which is so constantly pervaded with the love of knowledge and the knowledge of love. But if we look at it subjectively we realize that these extremes exist in our own conditions of effort and growth, and that if we are true to our teacher the resultant third must appear in our own character and our own attainment. And so Paracelsus can well say, without a touch of taint upon his pride,

> I have done well, though not all well.
> As yet men cannot do without contempt;
> 'Tis for their good, and therefore fit awhile
> That they reject the weak, and scorn the false,
> Rather than praise the strong and true, in me:
> But after, they will know me. If I stoop
> Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
> It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
> Close to my breast; its splendor, soon or late,
> Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge one day.
> You understand me? I have said enough!

But for us there is a word more. If one has grasped the meaning of a work of art he has the better right to consider the artist's method of accomplishing his results, and to complete our study we must often return to the point of initial inquiry. The historical Paracelsus has emerged from the "tremendous cloud" of his own time, and this poetical interpretation has been a large factor in arriving at a just estimate of the real man. The most perfect outline would fail to show the countless touches by which Browning has made this work so strong an exponent of historical truth, and yet a very inadequate summary must reveal how all his ready-made material is colored and shaped and adorned to body forth the essential spirit that he would convey. There is no record that the real Paracelsus made any confession of failure or defeat; but he did fail, he was defeated, and the poet understands the reason. We are not told that the real man had any such devoted friend, or that he heard the message of any possible Aprile; but if ever a mortal needed friendship and love and music it was he, and these things the creator of the new and nobler Paracelsus must supply. So the work becomes through numberless details of this kind a revelation of original creative force that carries with it in every line the indefinable vitality

and charm that, through the most searching analysis, presents the exalted spiritual power which makes this poem so great a wonder and delight.

And this is the highest test of the rarest artistic achievement. If one may discover the secret of its mechanism, and yet be more fully impressed with its intrinsic influence, then it is worthy of all possible praise, and we may safely follow the pathway it defines, for this effect is only gained by truth and right. Out of the press of countless perplexities we have found the straightforward way, and we pass with the perfected Paracelsus into broader opportunities holding fast to the clear comprehension of earthly conditions as it faces the realms to be.

> Festus, let my hand—
> This hand, lie in your own, my own true friend!
> Aprile! Hand in hand with you, Aprile!

Florence L. Snow.

Art. IV.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF MYTH, OR THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF PROOF.

Evidence, as understood by jurists, deals with the methods and means by which a matter of fact, which is the subject of judicial inquiry, is established or disproved. The books which treat of this branch of legal science are full of rules, the majority of which tell us what is not legal proof. It is a fascinating body of juristic learning, because it seeks to answer the ever-recurring questions, How can we find out the truth? How can we learn the unknown from the known? Mankind in every generation has produced the most sincere and fearless inquirers after truth. But the truth has evaded their grasp. Error has been perpetuated throughout centuries and millenniums. History is now being rewritten. Heroic myth is being scientifically interpreted. Applause and condemnation of the world's great leaders in thought and action are being reawarded. The great social and economic forces that have aided in the evolution of individual and national life have begun to receive recognition from historical writers, who have passed in their researches from the palaces of royalty to the habitations of the humblest toilers, and from castles and battlefields to the markets and exchanges of the world.

The present generation, fond of paradoxes and iconoclasm, views with indifference or grim delight the passing of popular idols and the rehabilitation of characters once universally scorned. No one murmurs when told that Mohammed was far from being an impostor and fraud, and that the Borgias were really quite worthy representatives of their times. We are ready to believe that Columbus had other ambitions than to serve as a herald of Christ to a heathen world. Elizabeth may not have deserved the title of "the Virgin Queen," nor King James I have merited the eulogium contained in the Bible of our mothers. Gerry's name should not have been given to the infamous scheme of unjust apportionment of legislative seats which his steady policy and distinct official acts repudiated. Mary Magdalene should have had more merciful consideration than is involved in her personification

of a penitent harlot, the unique and dubious honor thrust upon her by the judgment of the pious but uncritical public. It was only a mythical Pocahontas who saved the life of John Smith by the romantic act portrayed by pen and brush. The legends of King Arthur and William Tell we are willing to interpret as the memories of an heroic past cherished in an age of national misfortune by a people who are the present victims of foreign tyranny; and a few of us are even ready to believe that Washington actually swore upon the field of battle, that Sheridan did not take his famous ride, and that the martyred Lincoln never split a rail in his life.

Judicial proof never amounts to demonstration. It reaches no closer approximation to truth than a moral probability. It is seldom, indeed, that facts which are disputed in a court of justice can be adjudicated to an absolute certainty or demonstrated in a mathematical way. Still mathematics makes bold use of differentials and fluxions. Variables are found obedient to certain laws, and quantities imperfectly ascertained and inaccurately expressed are still confidently employed in formulæ which yield satisfactory conclusions in the computations through which almanacs are prepared, bridges and tunnels constructed, and insurance negotiated. The mathematical theory of probabilities can be applied to the conditions surrounding a trial by jury and the testimony of witnesses. The truths of actuarial science underlie the business of insurance—a business which has reached proportions in this age that may safely be characterized as colossal, for it is not too much to say that foreign bills of exchange are secured by marine insurance, just as loans of money on bond and mortgage upon improved real estate are secured by fire insurance. Various mortality tables, based on the study of vital statistics, have been declared by the rules of courts to furnish a safe and authoritative guide in the determination of annuities and the ascertainment of a fixed sum to be paid in lieu of dower.

Demonstration seems confined to the domain of mathematics and physics, sciences which know much limitation and which present to the enthusiastic pioneer vast realms of territory for exploration. No geometrician has yet described a perfect

circle, and no physicist has ever seen a pendulum vibrate or a body fall in a perfect vacuum. Law to the physicist is an expression of a constant relation. Standards are established, units defined, and coefficients applied with boldness and safety. But courts are not so fortunate in their instruments and means of proof, which in general may be said to be oral testimony and documentary evidence, both of which are affected in their integrity by all the frailties of our common humanity. For witnesses may deliberately lie, and written instruments may be the product of forgery. In case of conflict, or what might be vulgarly called "a swearing match," it is not safe to estimate the preponderance of evidence in a purely mathematical way. It is impossible to establish a unit of credibility by which to measure the volume of proof. Human equality is a dogma of political theorists. It has never existed in fact, wherever any high civilization has been achieved. Heredity and environment are causes and conditions under which human beings have come to differ as star differs from star in glory. Votes are still counted, but testimony is weighed. The beggar's ballot offsets the millionaire's, and the illiterate is equal to the philosopher at the polls; but on the stand, before the court and jury, intelligence and morality, piety and civic virtue, reinforce the testimony of the mere man and attach prevailing weight to the utterance of the witness. Here is a witness who tells the truth half the time and lies the other half; such a man testifies to a fact in controversy. Suppose another man just like him should similarly testify to the truth of the main proposition in dispute; would the accession of such testimony to the testimony already adduced add anything to its value? Other things being equal, probably it would not. Why should the combination of such distinct bodies of testimony be expressed mathematically by addition, rather than by multiplication? If the latter be quite as rational or more rational, then it is always folly to bring to a weak cause the testimony of a discreditable witness.

Evidence, in the English common law, has been developed side by side with trial by jury as a limiting, if not a controlling, feature of the judicial system. The present familiar method of inquiry through the oral testimony of witnesses

and the proof afforded by documents, under the direction of a learned judge who, after hearing counsel, admits one statement and excludes another, is a plan of procedure which has been of slow evolution. Other tests of truth have from time to time been applied by public authority. Thus trial by battle lingered late in the law, and was not formally abolished in England till the fifty-ninth year of George III. Like ordeal by fire and water, and like wager of law, it was essentially a superstitious test involving a blasphemous demand on Heaven to determine a controversy in favor of him who had the right. The battle was practically a duel, and was resorted to in order to determine, not only issues involving personal honor, but such prosaic and everyday controversies as those which concerned title to land. Trial by ordeal of fire consisted in attempting to walk blindfolded over redhot ploughshares placed at irregular intervals on the ground; if one who was accused succeeded in doing this unharmed it was supposed to have been brought about by divine intervention. Alleged witches were tested by ordeal of water; if the accused sank she was regarded as innocent, and if she floated she was adjudged guilty and given over to execution. One great difficulty with such methods of procedure was that simple issues, admitting of solution by the return of an answer in the affirmative or the negative, were all that could be tried. The mechanism of celestial adjudication did not suffice for more complicated and involved disputes. The only answer Heaven could return was "Yes" or "No." The essential blasphemy lay in the presumption that human ignorance, vanity, or curiosity might challenge Heaven and demand an instant decision. Human courts in wisdom and mercy may decline jurisdiction and dismiss both plaintiff and defendant without adjudication. Human judges may take the papers and reserve decision till due deliberation has been had. But the celestial court, *nolens volens*, was required to give an immediate answer. Wager of law was a plan of trial in which reliance was placed on the oaths of defendant and others, the theory being that perjury would be punished by God, whose name had been invoked when the witness was sworn. A woman accused of adultery could be tried and her innocence established by her oath at the altar.

No department of law has changed more materially within recent years than the law of evidence. Superstitious and absurd tests have been abandoned. The plaintiff and defendant and all parties financially interested in the outcome of the litigation may now testify, although they were once excluded from the witness stand. Sufficient reason for such exclusion was found in the presumption that financial interest would overwhelm all sense of honor and make it impossible for the witness to tell the truth. Husband and wife, contrary to the ancient rule, may now testify freely for or against one another in all except a few special cases. The reason for the old rule was found in the assumed merger of the wife's personality in that of her husband, an absurdity which has now vanished from the law. Even felons, once convicted and punished, may thereafter testify, no longer as of old paying by silence in court the perpetual penalty for past transgression. And a prisoner, accused of crime, may by the justice and mercy of our latest law testify in his own behalf, although but a few years ago he was denied this privilege on the trial. No defendant at the bar of criminal justice need testify against himself, as he must under the practice of continental Europe, but may stand mute in the presence of his accusers, on whom the law places the burden of proof. Absurdities, however, still abound, and much remains for the law reformer of the future to do. Thus, the requirement of unanimity in trial by jury is the result of historical accidents, and remains to this day a cause of frequent mistrials, although without any analogue in legislative, judicial, or executive procedure and administration.

Proof must always be difficult while its materials and instruments are affected by human weakness and fallibility. Municipal law is not alone the sufferer. The weights and measures of the physicist are only approximately accurate. The metaphysician and logician, in his solemn disputation or serene soliloquy, often appears to the mind of the purely practical man as wonderfully amusing in logomachy and jugglery with words. And the churchman and canonist, when he produces what is called proof, simply quotes the decrees of ecclesiastical authorities which may themselves be spurious though venerable, as in the case of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals.

The inconclusiveness of human testimony is recognized in those rules which abound in all legal systems providing for cumulative evidence in certain cases, or evidence of the same kind to the same point. Ordinarily a fact is established, in the absence of countervailing evidence, by the testimony of a single witness. The question of the weight or preponderance of evidence is usually important only when the defendant meets the plaintiff's testimony with a contradiction and the plaintiff is allowed, on what is called rebuttal, to bring reinforcement through new witnesses. But in certain special classes of cases the plaintiff, even in order to make out a *prima facie* case and put the defendant to his proof, is required to produce two witnesses at least. This is true of treason, under the rule minutely detailed in the Constitution of the United States. In New York the testimony of two witnesses is necessary in an action to establish a lost will, a copy of the will answering for the testimony of one witness; in the same State no conviction can be had without corroboration on what is called State's evidence, or the testimony of an accomplice of the prisoner who has been promised immunity from punishment in consideration of his aid furnished to the prosecution. So too in New York, in bastardy proceedings and in other actions involving the same transgressions of social law, there can be no conviction on the unsupported testimony of the woman seduced. Experience shows that chastity is as precious a jewel of womanhood as veracity, and that any woman who will willingly surrender personal purity will be quite apt to lie when asked to tell all about it.

Among the many difficulties in the way of proof it will be instructive to note some which arise from the moral obliquity of the witness, prompting him to lie; from honest errors in perception, the result of the infirmity of his faculties; from the insufficiency of speech as a vehicle of truth; and from the tendencies of bias, patriotic and religious, deflecting a sincere and able man from the right line of correct testimony. Dr. Reid, the Scotch metaphysician, says that truth is ever uppermost in the human heart, and that a man has but to yield to natural impulses in order to tell the truth; whereas it is not natural to lie, and even the greatest liars require a strong

motive of interest to induce them to take this wrongful course. Mr. Herbert Spencer's studies in sociology and his extensive perusal of travelers' tales have led him to announce somewhat different opinions. According to this philosopher an unreasoning credulity is often associated with habitual mendacity; whereas habitual veracity is generally accompanied by a disposition to doubt the testimony of others. The simple savage will believe everything wonderful that is told him, and he will lie himself; but our modern man of science, himself a person of undeviating integrity, disputes in a skeptical spirit all testimony that he meets until its trustworthiness is sufficiently established in some affirmative way. But there are other grounds of belief besides faith in human nature. There are the known and subsisting relations in the external phenomena of experience which some call laws. These are uniform and constant. So invariable are such coexistencies and sequences that their formulation leads to a law of life. This suggests Hume's argument against miracles, which, in substance, is that some things are so contrary to all that has been observed by mankind that no amount of testimony can be sufficient to compel belief in their truth.

Direct testimony, that which bears immediately upon the fact to be proved, showing it to be within the personal knowledge of the person testifying, is subject to the objection that men may deliberately lie. For example, one accused of murder, in the failure of all other possible defenses and in sheer desperation, resorts to an alibi. Logically this is always available, but practically it amounts to little where the witnesses to such alibi may be discredited. So the testimony of experts, though simply to the matter of an opinion, may be bought in the market under the economic law of supply and demand; much of expert testimony is therefore inconclusive. One of the last public acts of President Arthur was to pardon a prisoner who had been convicted of counterfeiting; the identical coin which experts had pronounced false was proved to have issued from the public mint. A jeweler in New York, of great reputation, was accused of having substituted in a ring given to him for repairs a cheap and vulgar stone for a precious gem; experts examined the stone and pronounced it

false; but the judge required its removal from the setting in open court, whereupon, on reexamination, all the experts concurred in testifying to its genuineness and against the possibility of fraudulent substitution. Lawyers can tell such stories by the dozen. Perjury suborned by the plaintiff may be fought with perjury suborned by the defendant. In an action for divorce on the ground of adultery the plaintiff may happen to have evidence the most direct, showing detection of the defendant *flagrante delicto;* a skillful counselor might well conclude not to offer such proof to the court, on account of its unusual and hence suspicious character, and prefer to rely on the more uncertain, suggestive, and circumstantial evidence that accords with the motives of the parties, the nature of the meeting, and the safeguards ordinarily taken against surprise. Bribery of revenue officers, of false witnesses, and judges even has prevailed in all ages and in all tribunals, ecclesiastical as well as civil, from the night of the turbulent and disorderly trial of Jesus to the corrupt era of Lord Bacon, and the later times of the Tweed *régime* in New York.

Circumstantial evidence does not, like direct evidence, bear immediately upon the fact in issue, but bears rather upon another fact or other facts from which the fact to be proved is logically inferred. One fact, for example, is relevant to another fact if it is the cause or effect of such other fact, or if the proof of one fact renders the existence of the other fact more or less probable. Stories showing the unreliability of circumstantial evidence fill many large volumes. Still much of this kind of proof is very cogent. The victim of a violent death exhibits on his right arm the marks of a bloody right hand; these marks could not have been made by his own right hand, and hence the hypothesis of suicide is not reasonable. Paper used as gun wadding may be identified as torn on an irregular line from a newspaper found on the prisoner's person, just as "John Chinaman" to-day in his laundry surrenders the clean linen to a customer who produces the one piece of paper in all the world whose ragged edge can answer the test which proves to whom the property belongs. The unique crystallization of a certain brand of arsenic, caused by the

process of manufacture, may identify the poison found in the body of the victim of a murder with a portion purchased by the prisoner accused. A will may be offered for probate executed, as it appears on the face of the instrument, in 1890, but written on paper identified by a water-mark and otherwise as belonging to a lot manufactured in 1895; the proof of forgery is irresistible. A great scholar and enthusiastic numismatist visits a museum to examine a unique coin; the coin is given to him and he loses it, dropping it from a drawer of the cabinet. He reports the loss to the curator, and on leaving the museum is placed under arrest and a search of his person results in the discovery of a coin found in his vest pocket which the curator identifies as the unique coin in question, the property of the museum. The visitor protests that the coin found in his pocket is his own, and an exact duplicate of the world-famed original which was lost. Further search brings the lost coin from its hiding place, and proves that our learned friend was neither a thief nor a liar.

Confession has been thought to furnish proof safe and sufficient. The criminal system of continental Europe, alike in civil and ecclesiastical inquisitions, has made much of confession which, being a statement against the interest of the accused, is regarded as always the product of honest and conscientious impulse. But history shows that men have confessed the commission of crimes of which they knew nothing, under the influence of insane and morbid criminal propensities, in the flattery of hope and looking for executive mercy, or perhaps in bravado, glorying in their own shame and coveting the infamy attached to a great crime.

But another difficulty in the way of proof is found in the failure of man to discern the truth through the imperfections of his physical and intellectual faculties; and, not discerning the truth, he cannot tell the truth. Size, weight, and distance are inaccurately estimated. Personal identity, even, is often lost in confusion; the father does not know his son, nor the wife her husband, notwithstanding a lifetime of uninterrupted association. The ventriloquist deceives our ear and the prestidigitator misleads our eye. Feats in jugglery amuse but

do not amaze us. We willingly pay for our entertainment and applaud the conjurer whom we challenge to elude our vigilance, when he succeeds in doing so.

Still another obstacle is found to beset our pathway in the road to truth; it is the failure of language as a vehicle of thought. One who correctly observes the truth and honestly endeavors to tell the truth nevertheless may fail to do so on account of his linguistic infirmity. Or, if the narrator makes no error, his hearer may be unable to catch the thread of the discourse and understand its finer sense and meaning. The figurative use of words often misleads. Comparative philology and comparative mythology have enriched human learning by furnishing the key to the solution of puzzles which vexed the ablest scholars a few generations ago in the realm of oriental myth and symbolism. Mr. Herbert Spencer does not hesitate to refer to this origin, the figurative use of language, the vast mass of early literature and tradition, showing the descent of man from the mountains, from the forest, from up the river, and from various wild animals who bear family and ancestral names. Profane critics have applied these rules of interpretation to Bible stories like that of Jonah, and have suggested that the Scripture account of that prophet may involve a play on the word "Nineveh," the "fish-city;" or, more amusingly, that Jonah may have entered a ship or sojourned at an inn named from the whale, remaining three days. In legal construction the *usus loquendi* prevails, and language is taken in its ordinary signification. But much depends on persons and subject-matter, and the rule is elementary in law that bad grammar never vitiates a document. Provincialisms and idioms are always to be studied for the light they may throw on disputed speech. In answer to a question by counsel one witness says, "I know nothing," and another witness says, "I don't know nothing;" each conveys to judge and jury exactly the same thought of complete ignorance on the part of the witness regarding the matter in question. Interrogated touching a certain building, one man answers that "it burned up last winter;" another says, "It burned down." "How did the horse escape from the stable?" asks counsel. One witness answers that defend-

ant "loosed him," and another witness says that defendant "unloosed him." Such illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely. A striking instance of the figurative use of language is presented in the familar sentence, "Blackberries are red when they are green."

Cross-examination often serves to bring out truth from dark corners. The cross-examiner may test the memory of the witness, his judgment and powers of observation, his sincerity and ability to tell the same story twice. Cross-examination is an art in which few are proficient. A bungling advocate may by cross-examination simply allow a witness to emphasize his direct testimony by repeating it. Color-blindness in the witness, his illiteracy, his inability to tell the time by the court-room clock, and his incapacity to estimate size, weight, and distance may all be revealed by the skillful cross-examiner. A forger may be detected, as in the case of the Parnell letters printed in the *London Times*, by requiring the witness to write instantly in the presence of the jury five or six words all misspelled and with characteristic chirographic peculiarities both in the forged writing and in the written answer to counsel.

Finally, we notice the dangerous tendencies of idealization which make much early history purely mythical and romantic. We know more to-day about Roman antiquities than Livy knew. We believe that Romulus was a demigod invented by patriotic imagination to be glorified by Rome, and that Rome is not a monument to the genius of Romulus. The Madonna of Christian art is Greek, Roman, Italian, Dutch even, and anything but Jewish in racial physiognomy. The Man of Nazareth, of whose physical appearance we know nothing save that his parents were Hebrews, is never represented on canvas as a Jew, but generally as a Caucasian, or looking like Apollo, Mercury, or one of the Greek gods, our models of manly beauty. How difficult it is to write dispassionately of Oliver Cromwell and of Thomas Paine! Each was an ardent patriot. The man of the pen has suffered obloquy because he wrote the *Age of Reason*. His coarse and vulgar infidelity has eclipsed the splendor of his patriotic services. Friend of Washington and of Jefferson, conspicuous

figure in the public life of England, France, and America, Thomas Paine is unmentioned by many so-called historians, or else he is cruelly and wickedly maligned. And Cromwell, the man who ruled by the sword, killed the king, and set up a military despotism more odious than the Stuart monarchy, has been most foully depicted as void of every virtue and representative of every vice. Americans have idealized Washington, whose noble character, transcendent genius, and resplendent patriotism have led the greatest of Europeans to concede to him the loftiest eminence of human achievement. The supreme test of generalship is to command a retreat; but our patriotic historians will have it that Washington's conquering cohorts drove the enemy from the field in a long series of brilliant victories as they marched down the continent from Long Island to Yorktown. The addresses and state papers which bear his name have been accepted as sufficient to place Washington in the front rank of Americans as a scholar and man of letters. And, in spite of his vast wealth in land and slaves and his positively aristocratic temper, he is still regarded as the friend of the common people and "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Stories are told by religious zealots, to the glory of God, of miraculous interventions in these later days in the cure of disease, in judgments of death visited on blasphemers, in the gift of tongues to saints, and in the supernatural endowment of the absolutely illiterate with the power to read the Bible but no other book. Does not the philosophy of myth suggest an explanation of these strange tales? May we not justly credit men with sincerity and at the same time recognize the difficulties in the way of proof?

Isaac Franklin Russell

Art. V.—ST. PAUL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS.

Within the world caldron when St. Paul was born three nations were seething—the Roman, Greek, and Jewish. Though having little sympathy for each other—often, indeed, hating each other—the fires beneath were so hot that they were compelled to mix together. On the surface of this bubbling mass gathered a scum, dark, loathsome, sickening. It poisoned the atmosphere and smelled to heaven.

The only political power was Rome. She had conquered the nations through the inheritance of that simplicity of life and manners, that hard-headed common sense, and that ability for fine legal distinctions and statesmanship which characterized the early days of her history. She governed now with a fine Italian hand. The Greek was without a country, but his influence was everywhere. "The sway of Greek customs and of the Hellenic tongue," says Döllinger, "maintained and extended itself continually from the Euphrates to the Adriatic. Like a mighty stream rushing forward in every direction, Hellenism had there overspread all things." Yes, the Greek was everywhere, and everywhere his influence was pernicious. His culture had sunk into an animalism glossed over with fine sayings and beautiful forms. His art had become a ministry to bestiality. Juvenal characterized the Greek as

> The flattering, cringing, treacherous, artful race,
> Of fluent tongue and never-blushing face—
> A protean tribe, one knows not what to call,
> That shifts to every form and shines in all.

The other chief element of the Roman world was the Jew. Like the Greek, he traveled far and wide. Like his descendant of to-day, he was driven by persecution and led by opportunities for trade. At the beginning of the Christian era he had made his influence particularly felt in the two world capitals—Alexandria and Rome. To the former he had been attracted on account of the exceptional privileges granted his countrymen by Alexander. He occupied a special quarter and was exceedingly prosperous in all his financial affairs. It was a banker of that city who contributed the gold and silver

for the nine massive gates which led into the temple at Jerusalem. Edersheim tells us that the central synagogue in Alexandria was so large that a signal was needed for those most distant to know the proper moment for the responses. From Alexandria Egyptian Jews had spread southward to Abyssinia and Ethiopia and westward to Cyrene and beyond. In Rome, as in Alexandria, special sections were assigned to Jews. In their poor quarter across the Tiber might be seen hawkers of all descriptions—sellers of glass, old clothes, and secondhand wares. It is estimated that in the time of Augustus the Jews in Rome numbered forty thousand, and during the reign of Tiberius half as many more. But not only was the Jew largely represented in Alexandria and Rome; he was to be seen in almost every important center, engaged, as now, in large commercial enterprises, and on account of his wealth often patronized by statesmen and rulers. His religion, however, exposed him to the contempt of the great, who believed that he had no right, now that his country had been subjugated, to a faith so uncompromising and exclusive; and of the masses, who were too ignorant to understand him. This opposition served only to deepen the regard of the Jew for the home land—for Jerusalem, the center of his political, social, and religious hopes. He was in the world and forced to adjust himself in a measure to its thousand customs, yet he was not of it in any vital sense.

With such a mixture of Roman, Greek, and Jew as principal elements—together with Gaul, Celt, Phœnician, Chaldean, Arab, Persian, Egyptian, Moor, Carthaginian, Iberian, and others—what shall be said as to the social, moral, and religious status of the empire as a whole? Something can be said both for and against. Nearly all students of the history of those times will agree with the statement of Friedländer that "at no time, down to the beginning of the present century, has it been possible to make journeys with so much ease, safety, and rapidity as in the first centuries of the imperial era." The magnificent roads, though constructed for the rapid transfer of troops, became the highways for the interchange of national ideas and the means of national intercourse. It may be said, also, with equal truth, that never before had the science of government reached so high

a state, nor had law ever before been administered with so impartial a hand. Whatever the Roman might be in his social and moral relations he never lost his deep sense of justice, nor those powers of keen analysis and synthesis which made Roman administration something to be respected and feared wherever the Roman eagles had penetrated. All this had a marvelous unifying influence. "Rome was conceived by many," says Professor Fisher, "as the realization of the universal city, as the common country of the race," and along with this conviction there is noted the dawning of the conception of a universal brotherhood. Stoicism, teaching a citizenship of the world, greatly stimulated this feeling of brotherhood. Lucan, who died A. D. 65, called upon mankind to lay down the weapons of war and to love one another, and Plutarch affirmed that his country was in whatever part of the world he might happen to be. Much more might in justice be said for the civilization of the first century. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that society as a whole was gradually sinking into a slough of false thought, cruel social conditions, and reeking immorality. "To see the world in its worst state," says Professor Jowett, "we turn to the age of the satirists and Tacitus, when all the different streams of evil, coming from east, west, north, and south, the vices of barbarism and the vices of civilization, remnants of ancient cults and the latest refinements of luxury and impurity, met and mingled on the banks of the Tiber." Religion had gradually decayed from a life into a theology, and from a theology into formalism, and from formalism into an excuse for wholesale license. The number of the gods increased beyond all reckoning. The spiritual office became sosecularized that ecclesiastical advancement came to depend wholly upon political influence. Stoicism, though rising nobly to the thought of the universal brotherhood of man and teaching doctrines which Christianity is not ashamed to proclaim, was egoistic, individualistic, pantheistic; without love, without a true conception of a Father in heaven, without a method for, or even a conception of, the regeneration of the individual or of society. Holding a subjective serenity as the ideal, it was essentially a philosophy of despair. Its noblest advocate, Seneca, defended suicide, saying, "If the house smokes, go out of it."

Looking out upon the social condition of the Roman world, one is struck by the fact that, whatever certain philosophers might say in their best moments, they recognized a sharp line of cleavage dividing society into two parts, slave and free. Between the two there could scarcely be said to be a middle class; for labor, which is the support, as it is the cause, of the middle class, was universally despised. Many of the free peasants had been killed in the wars; the remainder had flocked to the city, where they led, for the greater part of the time, a wretched existence.* The slave in Roman law, as in the general opinion, was a chattel—a thing, not a man. He could hold no property, he could contract no marriage. In court he was examined under torture. If a master was killed by a slave vengeance might be taken on all, little children and women, as well as men, being obliged to give up their lives. Domitius crucified a slave for killing a wild boar on a hunt. Cicero, commenting on the incident, remarks that this might perhaps seem harsh. Professor Fisher holds that to slavery, more than to any other agency, the fall of Rome was eventually due.† The condition of woman was scarcely better than that of the slave. She had little education. She occupied her own apartments, and never sat at the table with her husband when guests were present. Divorces were too common to be noticed. Seneca speaks of "illustrious and noble" women who reckoned time not in the usual way, but by their successive husbands.

The moral state of society at this period was probably lower than ever before since history began to be written. There may have been grosser forms of sin, but never such universal rottenness. Civilization seemed to be based on insincerity and hypocrisy. Seneca would moralize by the day in conversation and on paper and then go out and violate everything he had so eloquently defended. He wrote a beautiful treatise on poverty in a house whose five hundred tables of veined wood from Mount Athos cost about $50,000. He wrote on virtue while living in open vice. He eloquently advocated the brotherhood of man and then prepared the letter which jus-

* See Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism.*
† *Beginnings of Christianity*, p. 193.

tified before the senate Nero's killing of his own mother. The average Roman, so far as he could afford it, indulged himself in every luxury. Juvenal satirizes the times by describing the leaders of state assembling at the call of Domitian, not to decide upon some great question affecting government, but to determine how a turbot should be cooked. Mommsen gives a striking description of the Romans at their banquets, with their hosts of slaves ministering to luxury, their bands of musicians, their dancing girls, their carpets glittering with gold. A picture of the times is the bunch of five hundred she asses, their feet shod with gold shoes, ambling along in Nero's traveling processions to furnish milk for Poppæa's daily baths. The cruelty of the age is revealed by the general practice of infanticide and the inhuman, not to say diabolical, exhibitions of the circus. There slaves and gladiators, and later on Christians, fought with wild beasts until the arena was turned into a sea of blood. Actual battles were arranged to glut the appetite of the populace, whose one cry was, "*Panem et circenses.*" So indifferent had men become to suffering that the poet Ovid refers to these shocking scenes as fit places for the lover to prosecute his suit. Immorality of the grossest form was rife. All the ingenuity of the pit seemed to be at work to invent some new form of vice. And yet there was not happiness, but deep disgust with life:

> On that hard pagan world disgust
> And secret loathing fell;
> Deep weariness and sated lust
> Made human life a hell.

Into this world of license, irreligion, and cruelty, this world of hard and fast social lines and distinctions—the Roman with his sneer, the Greek with his sugar-coated immoralities, the Jew with his pride and his prejudice—Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, flung himself, holding high aloft the banner on which he himself had written in characters large enough to be seen of all men, "Christ for the world." He meets us at first solely as a Jew—a Pharisee of the Pharisees. Strong as was his individuality he was nevertheless a product of his nation. He spoke as a Jew, he understood as a Jew, he thought as a Jew. On his way to Damascus he was not only converted to Chris-

tianity, but experienced a mighty revolution in his heart life. He was a changed man. Yet he did not at a bound become a full-grown Christian, and hence did not at once put away Jewish things. We may not go so far as Dr. Matheson in his deeply interesting and suggestive work, *The Spiritual Development of St. Paul*, and construct from the apostle's letters the plan and progress of his mental and spiritual growth. We may believe, with Professor Bruce, that the preparations for the apostle's conversion "had been so thorough that the convert leaped at a bound into a large cosmopolitan idea of Christianity, its nature and destination; . . . that a whole group of religious intuitions—the universal destination of Christianity being one of them—flashed simultaneously into the convert's mind, like a constellation of stars, on the day of his conversion."* We may believe all this, and still hold that these great truths, though seen as it were in constellation, were not at first understood in their length and breadth, or even in their due proportion and proper sequence. We must believe that or else hold that Paul's conversion was *sui generis*, an event essentially different from the conversion of other men.

The order of Paul's development, we think it is plain, was from the theological to the sociological—from God to man. Along with his nation he had long believed that the greater study of mankind is not man, but God. He had no sympathy with the view widely held to-day that it makes little difference what one thinks about God so long as he seeks to help man—as though one could help man holding an unworthy and mistaken view of God! † On the other hand, he did not make the equally serious mistake—the mistake of our times rather than his—of believing that one can hold, or perhaps it were better to say keep, a true view of God who is unwilling to interpret that conviction by word and deed to fellow-man. St. Paul had experienced a great mental and spiritual upheaval. His first struggle, after the scales had fallen from his eyes, was naturally individualistic and theological. He must needs

* *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 36, 37.

† Nash, in his *Genesis of the Social Conscience*, shows how the monotheistic idea of God "unifies and coordinates the spiritual goods of the race;" how the unity of God "involves the unity of all classes of men," and "entails a view of the world which puts it in the service of God."

grapple with the fact of his own conversion, its nature and reason. He was obliged to ask again and again how he could be saved without the works of the law. An adequate answer involved the settlement of such great subjects as the nature of God, sin and its consequences, the place of Christ in redemption, and forced him to Arabia, where in retirement he might meet face to face with God. From Arabia he returned to Palestine, spent two weeks in personal conference with Peter in Jerusalem, and passed on to another long retirement in his native city of Tarsus. If in Arabia the apostle was able to develop the principles of the Gospel from the Godward side there seems to be abundant reason to believe that in Tarsus he was brought to see, in outline at least, the application of those principles to humanity at large. At last, in the providence of God, a time comes for him to act. It is suggestive that if, as we have seen, the questions Paul must first answer were theological his first work as an apostle was not a defense of the faith, but rather to apply the principles of the faith to what we may properly call a social problem. This problem had not arisen in Jerusalem. Problems never arose there, or, if they did, they were speedily suppressed—sometimes by crucifixion. It was at Antioch, where the life, not of a single section, but of the world, was represented, that the matter came to a crisis. Antioch was in its cosmopolitanism a second Rome, with all the sins, needs, problems of the great Roman world faithfully portrayed. The Christian propaganda had been remarkably successful there—so much so that non-Jews were being led to Christ. Indeed, it was this marvelous success which brought the problem to a point where it had to be met and solved. In brief, the question was, "Must Gentiles become Jews before they can be enrolled as Christians?" In this were involved a hundred other questions concerning meats and drinks, station, rank, clime, color, and sex. Humanly speaking, there was no one among the original apostles to whom the young Church looked for leadership able to grasp such a world-question as this. Peter, several years before, had been confronted with a phase of it in his vision on the housetop and the subsequent conversion of Cornelius. The eunuch had been baptized by Philip, but both of these incidents had doubtless been explained

by the Judaistic reception of foreigners through the process of proselytism. To these men the question regarding the Gentile may have come as something to be settled sometime, but not now. Meanwhile it was enough for them that Christ had been born a Jew; to Jews on his own repeated statements he had been sent; and by Jews alone he had been accepted when he was upon the earth. Only one man seemed to have the mental and spiritual discernment to grasp the situation as a whole and the courage to press for its solution. He hurries to Jerusalem, meets the apostles in session, and forces a decision in the interests of the Gentile, in the interests of a world-wide Christianity. How hard the struggle was may be imagined when we read the concession allowed to Jewish prejudice, that the new converts be compelled to abstain from things strangled and from blood. Paul went back to Antioch to herald the greatest victory Christianity had yet won. From that hour the new religion ceased from being a mere Jewish sect and became the Church of the multitude. That decision, better than any proclamation of prince or potentate, better than a decision of Cæsar or the senate, declared that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availed anything, but only a new creation; that in him there can be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but that men everywhere are the offspring of God; that, in a word, God is the Father of all men, though many are prodigal children, incapable of a true filial feeling without a new birth from above. The victory was won, though many did not seem to think so. Paul was later obliged to contend even with a Peter who betrayed strange inconsistencies at Antioch, and sharply with certain Judaizing teachers who insinuated themselves into the young churches, notably in Galatia and Corinth. But the apostle never changed his ground, though he did grant some few concessions, which showed that while "he had cut himself free from the bigotry of bondage he never fell into the bigotry of liberty."

But not only in his splendid defense of Christian liberty is St. Paul worthy the name of social reformer; his conception of the world with its institutions in process of redemption, and not, as many Christian people even now believe, doomed to

destruction, gives him a place at once unique and commanding. What the pagan and Jewish thought was regarding the world is, so far as details are concerned, confessedly obscure. The Greek thought, revealed in its influence on Philo, "deemed matter generally, and especially the fleshly part of human nature, to be inherently an incurable evil."* The Hebrew, on the other hand, while ready to admit that the Gentile would be destroyed, held that Israel as a nation would be saved, and that the land for Israel's sake was sacred. "More than that," says Edersheim, "God had created the world on account of Israel, and for their merit, making preparation for them long before their appearance on the scene. The Gentiles, when the Messiah came, would be either destroyed or brought under the subjection of Israel." On his way to Damascus it was revealed to St. Paul that the earthly Jesus was the true Messiah, and hence that the views of his nation were wrong; that instead of a mighty conqueror the Messiah was the Lamb of God, bearing away the sin of the world. From that time he came to regard humanity as divided, not on the artificial lines which marked the boundaries of nations and tribes, classes and orders, but only on the basis of a choice or rejection of Christ. In the world, as in the individual, he seemed to see two principles like leaven struggling for the mastery, the leaven of sin and the leaven of righteousness. Sin was represented by Satan, righteousness by Christ. That seems to be the meaning of his words to the Thessalonians: "For the mystery of lawlessness doth already work: only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and bring to naught by the manifestation of his coming; even he, whose coming is according to the working of Satan." "What is significant in this whole passage," says Professor Denney, "is the spiritual law which governs the future of the world, the law that good and evil must ripen together and in conflict with each other."† But there is here no Greek pessimism or Jewish narrowness. The end is assured. Christ will slay the lawless one, and bring him to naught by the manifestation of his coming.

*Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 268. †*Expositor's Bible*, p. 321.

That the apostle should look for this great consummation in his own lifetime was but natural. His first letter to the Thessalonians seems to admit of no other interpretation but that the Lord should come very soon, call his own to his side, and destroy the "man of sin." In his second letter there is evidence of hesitation and doubt regarding the Lord's immediate coming. Subsequent letters seem to show that a personal and proximate coming was scarcely in his thought. He appears to have reached the conclusion that the visible coming of the Lord is far off, but that there is a real *parousia* through the divine Spirit. In the later epistles Christ is viewed as sustaining a vital relation to the whole universe. He is the second man "who has for his vocation to undo the mischief wrought by the transgression of the first man. Hence he is called, in sharp antithesis to the Adam who caused the fall, the 'last Adam' made into a quickening Spirit. As the one brought death into the world, so the other brought life. 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'"* In the Epistle to the Romans he appears to see a power working in the universe to beneficent ends, all things working together for good, the whole creation groaning and travailing for the revealing—as the Apocalypse in the original has it—of a new because redeemed world. Dr. Sanday, whose name is a guarantee of a scholarship at once exact and liberal, paraphrases Paul's thought on this subject as follows: "What though the path to that glory lies through suffering? The suffering and the glory alike are parts of a great cosmical movement in which the irrational creation joins with man. As it shared the results of his fall, so shall it share in his redemption. Its pangs are pangs of a new birth."† In his letter to the Colossians the apostle represents Christ as the firstborn of all creation; the one in whom, through whom, and for whom all things, visible and invisible, in the heavens and on the earth, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, were created; and the ones in whom all things consist, or, as the margin of the Revised Version has it, "hold together." One can scarcely mistake the force of such language. Christ is not

*Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 335.
†*International Commentary.*

apart from this world. "He links all creatures and forces into a cooperant whole, reconciling their antagonisms, drawing all their currents into one great tidal-wave, melting all their notes into music which God can hear, however discordant it may seem to us."* Canon Freemantle, commenting on the Epistle to the Ephesians, holds that not Christians alone but the whole "human race is spoken of as chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world." The quickening of those who are the first fruits "is destined to be universal; the barrier between Jews and Gentiles is to be broken down; the Gentiles are to be fellow-heirs in the Church which is the body of Christ." The world suffers, it is true, but "suffering marks the road to glory. All the suffering, all the imperfection, all the unsatisfied aspiration and longing of which the traces are so abundant in external nature, as well as in man, do but point forward to a time when the suffering shall cease, the imperfection be removed, and the frustrated aspirations at last be crowned and satisfied."† The world is not now perfect, but it is going on unto perfection. Redemption is not merely a judicial process; it is also a process of life, working on and at last working out the purposes of God. The world will be saved as by fire, yet it will be saved. Such seems to be the view of St. Paul reduced to modern phraseology and modes of thought.

The apostle to the Gentiles is often represented as the bearer of a single message—the "simple gospel" as it is termed—which in substance is, "Repent or you will be damned; believe and you will be saved." His words to the Corinthians, "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified," are quoted as though they proved that Paul thought of nothing else save the mere putting of the terms of salvation without reference to their relation to the world and life. It might be enough to say in reply that the theme "Jesus Christ and him crucified" is not so simple as the simple imagine. In all its length and breadth, height and depth, it touches the universe and all contained therein. In the thought of the apostle it stands over against that wisdom of this world which ministers only to pride, the greatest

* McLaren, *Expositor's Bible.*
† Sanday, *International Commentary.*

enemy of the truth. Whoever reads the epistles carefully cannot but regard St. Paul as the myriad-sided apostle. He could not be an ascetic. He is in touch with the whole world, not alone for the usual reasons which move broad-minded men, but chiefly because the world seems to him to be related to Christ. Let us now notice what he has to say about certain well-known institutions of the world:

As to government. The apostle's long journeys and his numerous persecutions brought him into personal relations with the Roman government. As a citizen of Rome he would naturally have a certain respect for that power which had so often saved him from his enemies and protected him in his work. But there is no evidence that the glitter and glory of the empire ever blinded him to the great truth which Jesus enunciated when he said to his disciples, "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Paul recognized Christ as the "head over all things," "the head of all principality and power." And this headship Christ had won, not by lording it over men, but by serving them and dying for them. Apply that to government, which at its best but represents the rule of God in Christ, and what is the result? A revolution in the conception of government. "Quite unconsciously to himself," says Dr. Matheson, "Paul was at that hour the maker of modern history. He was weaving a conception of history which was destined to captivate and to dominate the human mind. He was striking the first decided blow at dominions, and principalities, and powers—at every form of government in which the will of the individual had aspired to obliterate the will of the community." *

The Church sustains a like relationship, but a much more intimate one than that of government. Though Christ had claimed the world for his own he can come into intimate association only with those who recognize and submit to his claims. All who do thus submit belong to the Church, even though they may not formally have connected themselves with the body of believers. Indeed, in the apostle's time there was little or no organization. Believers were baptized and were then enrolled as members. The opposition of the

* *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*, p. 207.

world was so great that anyone espousing the new doctrines was almost compelled to come out and ally himself with the Christian community. The sole qualification for membership was "spiritual union with Christ by faith." There could be in the true Church no distinction of country, color, station, or employment. All were on a level. But in the nature of things there would be diversity of gifts. Yet all are members of the one body, with Christ as the head. One has the word of wisdom, another of knowledge, another has great faith, another gifts of healing, and so on; yet no one can say to the others, "Because you are not as I, therefore you are not of the body." On the contrary, each one has his place, and "whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." The great principle is that of service to one another. Consider who is the head of the Church. It is Christ, and as the head he not only unites all, but also serves all. What relation then does the Church sustain to the world? Clearly that of service, of ministration. If Christ is in a sense the head of all principalities and powers—the head by anticipation—and if he is the real and vital head of the Church, and the Church is his body, then the Church should win the world to accept Christ as its rightful sovereign. It can win the world only as Christ won the Church by living, and, if need be, by dying for it. And when the world is so won to accept Christ the Church and the world will be identical.

What is Paul's view of the family? We have seen to what a degraded position family life had descended under paganism. The Jewish home was purer than the pagan; yet it, too, had degenerated. Woman had been degraded into a mere "instrument of State machinery," a means for the extension of the Jewish nation. St. Paul, more than any other apostle, rescued marriage from Jewish utilitarianism, as well as from pagan immorality. He is everywhere quoted as the advocate of a narrow view concerning woman's work. Some of his utterances, especially in his first letter to the Corinthians, appear at first sight to bear out this view. His advice to this Church on celibacy, marriage, and woman's place is regarded as the statement of a general law which was clearly revealed

to the apostle, in spite of the fact that he frankly admits concerning some of it that it is "by way of permission, not of commandment." It is also said at a time when he is looking for Christ speedily to appear, which event would seem to suggest the wisdom of everyone remaining as he is. Does not that fact alone warrant the statement that his advice at this particular time is special, not general? Many, it is fair to say, will indorse Weizsäcker in his statement that "it can hardly be said that this view was only due to the special conditions and opinions in the Corinthian church."* And yet this eminent critic, with his inevitable German bias against the more modern view of woman's sphere, admits that, when we remember "the gigantic war which Christendom in general, and Paul in particular, had to wage with immorality, the one-sidedness of the [Paul's] view almost ceases to surprise us."† And, further along, the same writer seems forced to admit that "traces are not wanting of another view." Turn to the Epistle to the Ephesians, and we find the apostle dealing with principles, not with matters of that day only. He says that the husband is the head of the wife—he does not say the ruler of the wife. And that the meaning of that headship may not be misunderstood he hastens to add that it is the same as the headship of Christ for the Church. He commands husbands to love their wives, "even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it." What wife, who is also a woman with all the term implies, could object to such a relationship? Some one must be the head of the home —the servant of and the sufferer for it—and Paul with his deep and true insight puts the responsibility upon the man. Perhaps he took it for granted that the woman without suggestion or commandment would be a burden-bearer.

There is one more relationship to which St. Paul's views regarding society should be applied, that of master and servant. Few of the early Christians, we may believe, realized how far-reaching their principles were. But the apostle must have seen their application to society, though he saw also that the time was not yet ripe to put them in force. His well-known saying that there is no distinction of Jew or

**The Apostolic Age*, vol. ii, p. 389. †*Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 390.

Greek, bond or free, male or female, reveals his thought concerning the ideal Christian society. During his Roman imprisonment he is confronted with a serious problem in the person of a runaway slave named Onesimus, belonging to a professed Christian of Colosse known as Philemon. What led Onesimus to Paul we do not know. Possibly he had heard from him an exposition of the doctrine of freedom in Christ, and had concluded to put the teaching into practice by severing a relation that seemed so contrary to the spirit of the new faith. Whatever were his thoughts he is here at Rome beside the apostle, expecting encouragement in his flight. What shall be done with him? Nine out of every ten Christians of to-day, confronted with such a problem, would answer at once, "Give him his freedom." What would have happened had Paul proclaimed the liberty of Onesimus? Dr. Matheson well answers, "It would have been a signal to the whole population of the world that the watchword of the new religion was emancipation from servile bonds." One cannot doubt that the excessive cruelty of the master had had its effect in hardening the heart of the slave. He was ripe for insurrection. And with the new religion openly arrayed against his bonds he would have hastened to throw them off and declare a revolution. "It is impossible," continues Dr. Matheson, "to conceive a more perfect picture of anarchy than would have been created by a sudden and successful insurrection of the slave population."* Between the Roman, with his high regard for law and order, and the slave, totally unfitted to rule, Christianity could not hesitate to choose. Paul doubtless explained this to Onesimus, after leading him to Christ; showed him that "the men of his class were unripe for the emancipation he had himself attained;" and then urged him to return to his master and "offer himself as an oblation for his people," who should all in good time experience the freedom with which Christ had made them free. That very course Paul himself was pursuing, bearing on his body the marks of the Lord Jesus, and suffering as a prisoner of Christ. So Onesimus went back to take up once more his slave's fetters for Christ's sake. He carried with him a letter from

* *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*, p. 263.

the apostle to his master, "one of the most courteous, high-toned, and large-hearted letters which have ever been addressed by man to man." Its exquisite touches seem to the most eloquent expositor of Scripture in our day "as if Michael Angelo had gone straight from smiting his magnificent Moses from the marble mass to incise some delicate and tiny figure of love or friendship on a cameo."*

There is to-day no question more vitally affecting man in society than that of labor. It enters into every other question with which man has to do. While Paul had no need of anticipating the present industrial conflict he did have need of interpreting the Christian position concerning the dignity of labor and the rights of the workingman. That was no easy thing to do in those times. To work with the hands was everywhere in the heathen world regarded a disgrace. Manual labor was a slave's occupation, and he who indulged in it was believed to have sunk to the slave's level. Moreover, whatever might be said of the value of slave labor it followed only a natural law when it drove out free labor. Hence there were but two classes, the slave who worked and the freeman who believed he ought to be supported without work. The apostle, notwithstanding this universal sentiment, unhesitatingly champions the cause of honest toil. He commands everyone to labor, working what is good. He cites his own example. "Ye yourselves know," he says, "that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me." He reminds the Thessalonians that he ate no man's bread without a recompense, but labored night and day that he might not be a burden to any. The particular kind of labor is indifferent. If one is a slave let him do his work conscious that he is the Lord's freeman. Let the freeman remember that he is Christ's slave. Says Uhlhorn:

> It is thus that labor regains its moral dignity, its honor. It is God's, it is Christ's, it is the working out of the heavenly calling. The qualitative difference of work is done away with. Simple manual labor—and it was this that the apostle was thinking about when he spoke of work—nay, the labor of the slave is, in a moral point of view, just as valuable as that of the loftiest kind and most comprehensive extent.

* McLaren, *Expositor's Bible.*

Everything depends, not on what a man does, but on how he does it; with what motive, and in what spirit.*

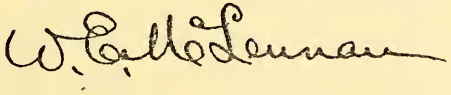
Paul was the very incarnation of forbearance, but there was one thing he could not bear—idleness. He would give to an enemy, but for the man who would not work he has but one command—he shall not eat. He regarded the idler, whether rich or poor, as a disorderly person, and warned the Church to have nothing to do with him. It is unnecessary to say that the Christian ages and the present Christian consciousness are one with the apostle on all these subjects. Labor could not wish for a better putting of its case. It is honorable in all, and he is not a Christian of the Pauline type who sneers at the workingman or would not help him in every honorable contest for a fair reward of his toil.

And if it be asked what Paul thought on other subjects affecting man in society, all may be answered in one word, Christ. For him to live was Christ. He saw through Christ's eyes, spoke through Christ's lips, felt with Christ's heart, was crucified with Christ. The great apostle to the Gentiles has been represented as the maker of a cold, hard system of theology. He did have convictions regarding the character of God—what man of good heart and sound mind has them not?—but everything was shot through with the glory of the divine love revealed in the face of Jesus Christ. So thoroughly had Paul entered into the spirit of his Lord that all goodness seemed to him to be interpreted by its power to bless men. The civilization of his times, with all its glitter and glory, he regarded as a tawdry thing. It could not help men to realize their manhood, for it was selfish to the core, narrow, cheap, and vulgar. To every age Paul would say: "I do not ask how many labor-saving machines, how many miles of railroad, how many magnificent churches, schools, libraries, asylums, parks, you possess, but how fares it with my weak brother for whom Christ was willing to die?" In some such way Paul would test every civilization. How does it bless men? He commands that questionable matters are to be given up if they cause anyone, even the weakest, to fall. "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore." The

* *Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 83.

rich are not to trust in their riches, but are to be "ready to distribute, willing to communicate." The weak are not to be abandoned because they are weak, as a godless sociology would suggest, in order that there may be no hindrance to the bald working of the law of the survival of the fittest, but "we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." Carnality is nowhere more positively shown than in jealousy and strife which divide the body. Unchastity is the sin it is because our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and we are not our own. Occupation is to be chosen with reference to its power to win men to the higher life. "To the weak," the apostle exclaims, "I became weak, that I might gain the weak: I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some." Education that is not also a ministry is to be classed with other selfish things which must pass away. Comfort is to be sought, not to escape suffering, but that we may be able to comfort others. Affliction, if it comes, is to be regarded as a means of consolation and salvation to the Church. Spiritual gifts should be sought only as a means of imparting truth to the hearer. If a brother is tempted and fall he is to be restored in a spirit of meekness; "bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." We should put away falsehood, "for we are members one of another." He that stole should steal no more, but should rather "labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have whereof to give to him that hath need." Noisy agitation should be avoided. Rather should everyone "study to be quiet," to attend to his own affairs, to work with his hands, in order that he "may walk honestly toward them that are without," so as not to be a burden to anyone. Regarding the matter of serving others, while we are all "called for freedom," yet should we use our freedom not "for an occasion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another." In truth, everything is fulfilled in that one word, love. Those who labor should do their work, not in the way of eye service, but with good will. And, on the other hand, masters should act in the same spirit toward their employees, rendering unto them what is "just and equal," avoiding threatening, and being ever con-

scious that we are disciples of the one great Master whose eye is ever upon us, and with whom there is no respect of persons. We should pay our debts, that there may be no obstacle to loving one another. Corrupt speech should be abandoned, so that only those words may be uttered which will "give grace to them that hear." Indeed, our whole duty is represented in the saying, "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: love therefore is the fulfillment of the law." "Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth." Such was Paul's doctrine, and such was his life. He literally gave himself for the world, not counting his life dear unto himself. To the end he could consistently say, "We both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place; and we toil, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we intreat." The shadows of death had fallen upon him, but he had no word of complaint or regret. "I am now ready to be offered," he wrote to Timothy. And when the time came for him to close his earthly pilgrimage he cheerfully went out and died, seeming to see in his death a new victory for the cause of love—that cause which he was assured beyond a doubt would win the world at last.



Art. VI.—THE POETRY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Upon the details of Matthew Arnold's life it is not necessary for us to dwell, nor is it indeed possible to give such details at any length, inasmuch as by Mr. Arnold's personal request no biography proper of him has appeared, or probably will appear, his recently published *Letters*, edited by Russell, and his various works giving us the only authentic facts and incidents of his life. Born in Rugby, December 22, 1822, the son of the famous educator and author—Dr. Thomas Arnold, Head Master of Rugby—and dying in Liverpool April 13, 1888, he lived to the full maturity of his mental and bodily power, though not in any accepted sense to the limit of old age. Educated at Rugby, Winchester, and Oxford, and graduated from Oxford with literary distinction, we find him at length, an inspector of British schools, twice sent by the British government on educational missions to the schools of the Continent in Germany and Holland, and in 1857, when but thirty-five years of age, professor of poetry at Oxford. These few facts may be said to indicate the character and general course of his life, it being emphasized that, from first to last, whatever his specific mission—educational, official, or professional—literature was dominant over all and the elevation of modern English and general letters the final purpose of his effort. Devoted as he was to the cause of popular education at home and in continental Europe, it was with primary reference to literary progress that he insisted on specific methods of teaching and training. Devoted also as he was to the study of theology and kindred branches, he was a man of letters first and a theologian afterward, giving us in such works as his *Literature and Dogma*, *St. Paul and Protestantism*, *God and the Bible*, and *Last Essays on the Church and Religion* the reflections and conclusions of an author on the great questions of God and man and life and death and immortality.

The discussion of Arnold's prose we have already given,* a sphere of effort to which most of the best of his life was devoted, either as regards the time spent therein or the definite

* *Studies in Literature and Style*, Armstrong & Son.

results secured in the line of literary reputation. Whatever the amount and the value of his verse may be, as we shall study it, his fame mainly rests on his prose and, in prose itself, in the form of literary criticism. Not that he preferred prose to poetry; not that he regarded it as a higher and more exalting form of literary product; but rather that his appeals to public and scholarly favor were most successfully made through the province of prose, though some of his profoundest convictions and highest ideals sought their most fitting expression in verse. Moreover, as life advanced and his powers matured, prose engaged him more and more fully, the mutual influence of the two, however, being as a rule for the good of each.

The classification of his poems, given in his recent edition of 1895, is as follows: (1) "Early Poems," including sonnets and other selections; (2) "Narrative Poems," such as "Sohrab and Rustum;" (3) Sonnets proper, such as "A Picture at Newstead;" (4) "Lyric Poems," such as "Meeting" and "Parting;" (5) "Elegiac Poems," such as "The Scholar-Gipsy" and "Thyrsis;" (6) "Dramatic Poems," as "Merope;" and (7) "Later Poems," as "Westminster Abbey" and "Kaiser Dead." This sevenfold division of poems in manifest violation of logical and literary unity may properly be reduced to the three orders of narrative, dramatic, and lyric verse, as these in turn illustrate more or less clearly the presence of didactic and descriptive elements. Hence, although the three great divisions of verse are here illustrated, Arnold cannot be said to have been a versatile and voluminous writer of poetry. His three longest narrative or epic poems, so called, are of the nature of semiepics, and his dramas are confined to "Merope" and "Empedocles on Etna"—the latter having but two acts and "Merope" not conforming to the accepted fullness of a play. At this point Arnold and Emerson come into natural comparison, as to the relative amount of prose and verse which they respectively wrote, the poems of each being contained in a single volume as compared with several volumes of prose. In a wonderful degree Arnold resembles Lowell here, and Coleridge and Southey and Scott and Landor—some literary features common to Arnold and Lowell both in verse and prose being well worth the notice of the student.

A mere specific examination of Arnold's poetry is now in place, and discloses the following characteristics:

1. Classic taste is at once discernible by every impartial reader of the verse before us, nor would any tribute that the reader might pay to it have been more pleasing to the author himself. As in prose, so in poetry, this was a feature that he would under no consideration sacrifice for any apparent temporary advantage, however strongly urged. This sense of form in itself and in its relation to the subject-matter was in a degree the central principle of his literary life and work—a conscientious warfare against Philistinism, an exaltation of the humanities whenever opportunity offered, an insistence that there should be the manifest presence of Hellenic art and culture in every worthy literary product. He believed with Keats that beauty and truth were inseparably connected; that even prose literature should be made artistically attractive, while poetry as a fine art could not be said to exist without the pervading presence of the æsthetic. Hence, to quote from Arnold's verse in confirmation of this fact or to refer the reader to certain poems as exemplifying it would be quite invidious, in that this element of verbal refinement is inherent in all the verse. In this respect poetry with Arnold was simply the best medium known to him through which he could fitly express his deepest sense of beauty and art. It is in this light that the meters of Arnold's poetry should be studied, exhibiting as they do all the standard varieties of feet and line from the couplet on to blank verse and related forms—the selection of the pentameter measure for any given poem, depending in part upon the theme and content of the poem and in part upon its fitness as the medium of an attractive rhythmical movement and effect. It is thus that in such narrative poems as "Sohrab and Rustum" and "Balder Dead" we have blank verse, while in such as "Tristram and Iseult" blank verse gives place to the rhyming couplet and quatrain. Before dismissing this feature it is in place to state that in verse as in prose literary technique at times appears to be so pronounced as to become an end in itself and thus lose its peculiar charm and defeat its own ends—the art of the poet appearing on the face of the poem, and to that extent impairing the spontaneous

and natural influence of the thought. It is here that Arnold and Keats are seen to be similar, and to some extent Arnold and Lowell, while the verse of Emerson as a rule fails less frequently in this respect than the classical verse of Arnold.

2. A second excellent feature of Mr. Arnold's verse is its pronounced mental type. Nor is what is called "intellectuality" the only way of expressing this feature. The poetry is as a whole sensible, marked by strong thought and the presence of good judgment in its utterance. We are not alluding here to the scholarship of Arnold in this or that particular branch of liberal study, nor to the fact that a certain amount of learning appears in his verse, but are noting that it is an order of verse from a man who thinks before he writes and as he writes, whose faculties are healthfully at work in authorship and completely under control as he writes, so that on the reader's part there is required a corresponding mental activity. Here we note a characteristic complementary of the one just mentioned, taste under the control of mind, what Dowden has called "mind and art" in one expression. Hence, Arnold could not have indorsed those views of verse which make it purely impassioned or imaginative, as Shelley's "poetry is the language of the imagination," or Milton's, "poetry is simple, sensuous, and passionate." He would say with Elliott, "poetry is impassioned truth," or with Mill, "it is the influence of the feelings over our thoughts," the element of thought being essential.

Here again Arnold overreached himself in emphasizing the intellectual element of verse, even though believing thereby his own statement in "The New Sirens," "only what we feel we know." He sometimes knew more than he felt or could make his reader feel, so that there is to this extent the absence of a profound and sustained poetic impulse. Feeling involves intensity; Arnold is too infrequently an intense poet, illustrating one of his lines in "Resignation," "not deep the poet sees, but wide." To this extent Arnold is an Augustan poet of the eighteenth century—too reserved when we expect him to be demonstrative, holding in check as if by force of will those more natural impulses that arise and appeal for expression. Hence there are times when we must study Arnold's

verse—though we should prefer simply to read it at sight—as an exercise of pure enjoyment for leisure hours.

3. A further merit is seen in the line of personality, a decided merit in any author and never more welcome than in these days of an easy-going imitation of writers and schools. Arnold's home training at Rugby was all in the direction of a manly independence of view. Thomas Arnold never failed to teach his pupils that the secret of successful life was the mastery of self, the cultivation and expression of individualism in every worthy sense. More than this, he was himself unique in thinking, method, and purpose—starting and discussing his own questions in his own way, never so well pleased as when he found himself thus related to the thinking world at large. Whatever merits or faults the verse of Arnold may have they are absolutely his own, nor does he hesitate a moment to insist that they are his. No discriminating reader would ever mistake the authorship of this verse, so as to feel that when he is reading Arnold he is reading Milton or Wordsworth or Tennyson. "Dover Beach" and "Empedocles on Etna" carry on their face and between the lines the manifest marks of their genuineness.

Egoism as a merit sometimes degenerates, however, into egotism as a fault, and Arnold is no exception to the law of decadence. Students of his prose have noticed it, while his verse is not devoid of it. Individualism is pressed to the verge of an unpleasant projection of the author upon the page, so as to oblige the reader to mark the intrusion. Arnold's portrait is thus too essential a part of his poetry, and must be seen even before the poetry is read as an essential factor in its interpretation. The frontispiece is thus in danger of becoming an affrontispiece, and we prefer to judge the verse on its merits. There is a real, subjective element in verse, though it need not be too strongly impressed on the reader.

4. A fourth characteristic of merit may be styled poetic dignity of diction and manner, a feature of style and character by no means confined to his verse. Seen especially in his longer poems, such as "Sohrab and Rustum," "Balder Dead," and "Tristram and Iseult" it may be said to pervade his poetry so as to make it distinctive. At times it appears in

the form of high and sedate oriental imagery; at times a kind of simi-Homeric method; and at times in the use of bold Scandinavian legends. It is thus, in the poem "The Neckan," beginning,

> In summer, on the headlands,
> The Baltic Sea along,
> Sits Neckan with his harp of gold,
> And sings his plaintive song.

We might call it in Arnold a kind of epical elevation of tune and teaching, combined with a dramatic sobriety of movement, as in "Merope," "Empedocles on Etna," and "The Strayed Reveller." Not infrequently it appears in a pensive, meditative order of verse, as in "Meeting," "Parting," "A Farewell," "Isolation," "Quiet Work," "Requiescat," "Youth and Calm," "A Memory Picture," and similar selections. Whatever the form of the verse may be there is a stateliness about it that commands respect, while also warning the reader against undue familiarity with the author. Here we touch upon the other and less attractive side of his verse, as seen in the presence of undue reserve of person and manner, amounting at times to a studied *hauteur* or superiority, widening the distance between the poet and the reader and perverting a literary decorum into the extreme of the supercilious. Longinus in his celebrated treatise, *On the Sublime*, or elevation in poetry, insisted on its application, not only to thought and expression, but to feeling. There is in Arnold the absence of this sympathetic quality, confirming what he writes as to the muse of verse in his lines on the "Austerity of Poetry." There is this austere and, to that extent, forbidding reserve, where the reader is looking for freedom, fellowship, and even confidential relation with the author.

Hence the limited descriptive range of Arnold as a poet, especially when he attempts to portray Nature in all her varied forms. With but few exceptions these sketches are labored and unimpressive, the work of an amateur and not that of one thoroughly at home amid the rich variety of physical phenomena and freely admitted into their secret and truer life. An ardent admirer, as Arnold was, of Wordsworth as a poet it would have been impossible for him to have given us, as

Wordsworth did, an accurate and appreciative view of the natural world of beauty. It is this mental and literary austerity, moreover, that explains, as nothing else does, the lyrical and dramatic limitations of Arnold, that lack of wholesouled spontaneous movement that we of right expect in the play or sonnet. Here and there we note a poem of some dramatic and idyllic force and fervor, such as a "A Dream," "The New Age," "The Scholar-Gipsy," and parts of "Empedocles on Etna;" but these are notably exceptional, the prevailing tone being academic and studied, devoid of stirring impulse. As we read we desire more flexibility and *abandon*, the occasional "snatching of a grace beyond the reach of art"—in a word, an unreserved revelation of inner thought and life. It is thus that his verse lacks impressiveness and can never be widely current—an order of poetry for the cultured and leisure classes, for men of books and learning, for literary artists and critics, but not for the average man with his trials and cares and ambitions. In one of his poems, "A Caution to Poets," he writes,

> What poets feel not, when they make,
> A pleasure in creating,
> The world, in its turn, will not take
> Pleasure in contemplating.

On this principle Mr. Arnold becomes his own severest critic as to the need of feeling in verse and the fatal results of its absence. Not that he did not feel what he wrote, but that he had not the gift of embodying his soul in song and of making the lines throb with genuine passion.

5. We note a further feature in the line of religious speculation. Here Mr. Arnold was at home and dealing with topics that served to elicit the deepest energies of his being. In so far as his prose is concerned it is to be noted that none of his books called forth wider comment than those mainly theological, such as *God and the Bible*, some critics still holding that his best work has been done in this sphere. His verse throughout exhibits this governing characteristic. An examination of the titles of his poems and their content will fully confirm this view. This is the signal feature of his "Early Poems," in "Quiet Work," "Religious Isolation,"

"Youth's Agitations," "Human Life," and indeed through the list as a whole. So in later poems, such as "Progress," "Self-Dependence," "The Buried Life," "The Future," and such memorial verse as that to Clough, Thomas Arnold, Heine, Wordsworth, and Stanley. In his poem, "A Wish," this specifically semireligious cast prominently appears:

I ask not each kind soul to keep
  Tearless, when of my death he hears.
Let those who will, if any, weep!
  There are worse plagues on earth than tears.

I ask but that my death may find
  The freedom to my life denied;
Ask but the folly of mankind
  Then, then at last, to quit my side.

. . . . . .

Nor bring, to see me cease to live,
  Some doctor full of phrase and fame,
To shake his sapient head, and give
  The ill he cannot cure a name.

Nor fetch, to take the accustom'd toll
  Of the poor sinner bound for death,
His brother-doctor of the soul,
  To canvass with official breath

The future and its viewless things—
  That undiscover'd mystery
Which one who feels death's winnowing wings
  Must needs read clearer, sure, than he!

Bring none of these; but let me be,
  While all around in silence lies,
Moved to the window near, and see
  Once more, before my dying eyes,

Bathed in the sacred dews of morn
  The wide aerial landscape spread—
The world which was ere I was born,
  The world which lasts when I am dead;

. . . . . .

Thus feeling, gazing might I grow
  Composed, refresh'd, ennobled, clear;
Then willing let my spirit go
  To work or wait elsewhere or here!

How signally part of this wish was fulfilled in the poet's sudden death in Liverpool, without the possible intervention of physician or priest, is known to all.

Never has there been a more distinctive moralizer in English verse than was Arnold, distasteful as all moralizing was to his sensitive nature. He treated no theme or question out of its ethical relations, even though he did it unconsciously. If his purely literary type was Hellenic, his personal type was semi-Hebraic. He was never more truly himself than when profoundly speculating on the high themes of God and the soul and immortality, nor could he have wished it otherwise. If we turn now to the practical use that he made of this speculative tendency we shall find it to have been in the main on the side of doubt and despondency, here also being true to his general character as a man and his work as a writer of prose. Just as the major part of his verse deals in ethical and religious speculation so the larger part of his ethical verse is on this minor and often melancholy key. In his poem on "Youth's Agitations" he closes with the suggestive couplet,

> And sigh that one thing only has been lent
> To youth and age in common—discontent.

So in "Stagirius" he sings a prayer,

> From doubt, where all is double;
> Where wise men are not strong,
> Where comfort turns to trouble,
> Where just men suffer wrong;
> Where sorrow treads on joy,
> Where sweet things soonest cloy,
> Where faiths are built on dust,
> Where love is half mistrust,
> Hungry, and barren, and sharp as the sea—
> O! set us free.

So in his poem, "A Question," he says,

> Joy comes and goes, hope ebbs and flows
> Like the wave;
> Change doth unknit the tranquil strength of men,
> Love lends life a little grace,
> A few sad smiles; and then,
> Both are laid in one cold place—
> In the grave.

So in "Faded Leaves" he writes,

> Before I die—before the soul,
> Which now is mine, must reattain
> Immunity from my control,
> And wander round the world again.

In similar strain are his poems, "Despondency," "Self-Deception," and "Dover Beach." In this last poem he seems to chant the requiem of his own earlier faith, as he sings,

> The Sea of Faith
> Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
> Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd.
> But now I only hear
> Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
> Retreating, to the breath
> Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear
> And naked shingles of the world.
> . . . for the world, which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams,
> So various, so beautiful, so new,
> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
> And we are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night.

So in his poem, "Geist's Grave," he sings in almost a despairing key of human life and hope and destiny,

> Stern law of every mortal lot!
> Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,
> And builds himself I know not what
> Of second life I know not where.

Thus the prevailing tone is that of dejection and often of dismay, summoning the attention of the reader to no wider outlook than that which earth affords, and awakening in him more and more doubt the nearer he approaches the sphere of supernatural truth and reality. In one of his earlier poems, "To a Friend," he writes of one

> Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole.

Mr. Arnold did neither, his view of human life being disturbed and partial, and hence the occasion of unrest to himself and others. One of the grounds of his attachment to Clough, as he expresses it in "Thyrsis," is found in this dispiriting view of life common to them as men and poets.

One of the grounds also of Mr. Arnold's limitations as a poet is found in the fact that he never had any cheerful, hopeful, message for men in their struggles and disappointments, but left all questions of life and duty as unsettled as he found

them, if, indeed, not more perplexing than ever. A few of his poems, such as "Thyrsis," "Rugby Chapel," "Heine's Grave," and "Haworth Churchyard," are properly called "Elegiac." There is a sense in which two thirds of his verse is elegiac—a somber contemplation of vanished ambitions, a tribute given perforce to a something lost out of his life, he scarcely knew what. It is at this point, as much as at any other, that the superior moral personality of his father appears, a superiority which the son himself was not slow to discern, as he wrote in "Rugby Chapel,"

> To us thou wast still
> Cheerful, and helpful, and firm!
> Therefore to thee it was given
> Many to save with thyself;
> And, at the end of thy day,
> O faithful shepherd, to come,
> Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.
> And through thee I believe
> In the noble and great who are gone.

Such, as we estimate them, are the salient features in the poetic work of Mr. Arnold, nor are we far astray when we summarize his merits and demerits in the statement that he had high ideals as a poet which he had not the gifts fully to realize. He had the "vision divine," though not the "faculty divine;" while no careful reader of his verse can fail to note the evidence on almost every page of this despairing struggle to make poetic conception and poetic execution accordant. Visible as this feature is in his shorter poems, it is especially apparent in his three longer narrative poems and in his two specific attempts at dramatic writing, in no one of which poems has he approximated to Miltonic or Shakespearian effects.

Conceding as he does in one of his poems,*

> The seeds of godlike power are in us still;
> Gods are we, bards, saints, heroes, if we will,

the implanted seeds never developed to full maturity, nor did the will to become a master bard prove sufficient to effect so great a result. In his poem, "Self-Deception," he would almost seem to have conceded this limitation, as he writes,

* Written in *Emerson's Essays.*

Ah, whose hand that day through heaven guided
Man's new spirit, since it was not we?
Ah, who swayed our choice, and who decided
What our gifts, and what our wants should be?

For, alas! he left us each retaining
Shreds of gifts which he refused in full.
Still these waste us with their hopeless straining,
Still the attempt to use them proves them null.

And on earth we wander, groping, reeling;
Powers stir in us, stir and disappear.
Ah! and he who placed our master-feeling,
Fail'd to place that master-feeling clear.

We but dream we have our wish'd-for powers,
Ends we seek we never shall attain.
Ah! some power exists there, which is ours?
Some end is there, we indeed may gain.

Here is an acknowledgment of gift and inability in one and an almost pitiful lament over the chasm discovered by the poet himself between ambition and ability. A poet of classic culture and intellectual merit; a poet of unique personality and high poetic dignity, of marked ethical purpose and lofty ideal—he still with all his merits falls far short of masterliness in verse. Adopting his own favorite phrase he is an "interesting," though not a great, poet. He is interesting only because not inspiring, and he is not inspiring because not inspired.

With some superb lines and passages at distant intervals in his verse there is no extended and even flow of high poetic form in which mind and soul and art are fused in the unity of great effect and the reader is carried aloft to the vision of truth and goodness and beauty and love. It is the constant presence of this vain endeavor to be as a poet what he longed to be that is the explanation of that dominant feature of sadness that is so clearly seen in the thoughtful face of Matthew Arnold.

T. W. Hunt

Art. VII.—THE OPEN CHURCH AND THE CLOSED CHURCH.

The so-called open Church of our day is not at all a new thing under the sun. It belongs properly to an earlier age when all Churches were institutional and did work on a scale which would compel the most elaborate institutional Church of to-day to hide its diminished head. There were no county poorhouses in mediæval times, but the Church took exclusive care of the poor; there were no hospitals, except Church hospitals, no correctional or penal institutions, no schools, no public libraries, nor even a water supply or drainage system except those provided by the Church. "Indeed," as Mr. Stead says, "if any of the great saints who a thousand years ago Christianized and civilized Europe were to come to Chicago, they would, after surveying the whole scene, decide that three fourths at least of the work which they did was in the hands either of the city council, the mayor, or the county commissioners, and that not more than one fourth remained in the hands of the clergy or their so-called Church." But we are none the worse for the change. Even Mr. Stead would not regard a return to the open Church as a forward movement, but as a backward movement. He thinks it "right enough" that the State, or rather the city, has become executor of the Church for three fourths of the work which the Church was instituted to accomplish. The only unfortunate feature is the following:

> No sooner does the Church rid itself of the onerous responsibility with which it was formerly saddled than it seems to abandon all care or interest in what used to be its own special work, and what was heretofore regarded as distinctively Christian work is often handed over to men who have not the slightest trace of Christian principle. In this respect the Church behaves not unlike the unfortunate mother of an illegitimate child, who, finding it irksome any longer to maintain her offspring, hands it over to a baby farmer, and thanks God she is well quit of the brat.

The only reason for the rehabilitation of the open Church is the lamentable fact that in our great cities there has been a reversion toward the socio-economic conditions of earlier ages.

The Church is left down town with Lazarus, with the alternative either of going to the dogs with Lazarus or else saving itself and Lazarus by acting the part of the good Samaritan. It very wisely and religiously chooses the latter course. It goes about doing good; it increases in favor with God and man; it becomes the steward of the rich man's bounty; it degenerates. History repeats itself. The fact is notorious that the Church of the Middle Ages broke down utterly as an institution for the relief of the poor, and the State was actually obliged to interfere with its work in order to protect the community from the spreading disease of pauperism. After all has been said the one thing remains true that the unhappy condition of the people of the Middle Ages was not made materially better by the open Church; we might almost say it was made worse. Social and economic salvation came in the fullness of time, in spite of the open Church, and through the instrumentality of what we may properly call the "closed Church." The Church of the Reformation was not open or institutional. Like the Church of the apostles it was for a long time without even houses of public worship. It had no organized membership, no staff of paid workers, no educational, reformatory, or philanthropic schemes. It had nothing—but the foolishness of preaching. But it had the manhood of Europe, young and old.

What then is the utility of the open Church? And how much have we a right to expect from it? First, it may serve as a training school for students of religious and social life. In this respect it may be likened to the free clinic of a college of medicine and surgery; its object incidentally is to relieve the sick and suffering, but the prime object is to become acquainted first-hand with the diseases and dislocations of social life, their causes, and the methods of treatment. Again, the Church should become a part of the charity organization of the city. The disastrous results of ecclesiastical almsgiving in the past ought to teach it wisdom for the future. The perversity of some Churches in persistently dispensing free bread and free soup at so-called Gospel meetings and exchanging shoes and clothing for a certain number of attendance tickets is a subtle form of bribery of the poor which amounts almost to a crime

against society. We are told that the number of free medical dispensaries in New York City is being so multiplied that it is fast becoming a public evil requiring remedial legislation on the part of the municipality. Any Church that becomes so daft on institutionalism as to undermine the character of the poor for its own gratification or aggrandizement is a public curse. It deserves the contempt of all good people. In these days when the evils of indiscriminate almsgiving and of public outdoor relief have been exposed, and philanthropy has developed into a science, every Church which really has the interests of the poor at heart will cooperate with the experts of charity organization, giving and receiving information, and multiplying the number of friendly visitors in its congregation.

This work of cooperation extends in all directions. When kindergartens and technical schools and night schools are made a part of the public school system the proper course for the Church is not to compete with them but to close its own schools and help to make the city-wide system a success. If a building and loan association is established in a church let it not be in opposition to a rival company, but only for some such reason as existed in Cincinnati, where there are four hundred associations, but not more than five or six which do not meet in or above or around a saloon. If a church playground is opened let it be under protest, and as a standing rebuke to the authorities for not multiplying the number of open spaces and breathing places in the congested downtown districts. Have it clearly understood that the Church is averse to doing other people's business; that its institutional work is only the outgrowth of others' neglect of social duties; that for every such neglect on the part of private citizens or public officials they will one day be brought into judgment.

Cooperation must sometimes be changed to coercion. A teamster who was compelled to water his horses at the troughs in front of saloons revolted against the subtle scheme of the barkeepers to extort drink money from the drivers, and quietly organized through some of the churches such a public sentiment that the public officials were forced against their will to appropriate money enough to establish drinking fountains for man and beast at convenient points throughout the

business portion of the city. It is not generally known that John Wesley was one of the leading spirits in a society for the suppression of vice, which in five years in the city of London brought ten thousand five hundred and eighty-eight offenders to justice. But the fight against an eighteenth century Tammany was so unequal that even the methods of a Parkhurst failed, and the work came to a sudden stop, when the society was wholly destroyed through a verdict given against it by a corrupt court with an award of three hundred pounds damages.

A more direct work of the open Church is to give the people a meeting house. Everyone who has been reared under rural conditions, where neighbors are widely separated and people from opposite sides of the township seldom get together except once or twice a week in the church, knows what the meeting house is and how important is its social function. But it is vastly more important in a crowded city, where one has no neighbors and cannot come to know the people up stairs or on the other side of the partition wall except by determined effort. This isolation is ruinous, especially to the young. Says General Booth:

> In London at this present moment how many hundreds, nay, thousands of young men and young women, who are living in lodgings, are practically without any opportunity of making the acquaintance of each other, or of any of the other sex. . . . It has been bitterly said by one who knew what he was talking about, "There are thousands of young men to-day who have no right to call any woman by her Christian name, except the girls they meet plying their dreadful trade in our public thoroughfares." . . . The conditions of city life, the absence of the enforced companionship of the village and the small town, the difficulty of young people finding harmless opportunities of intercourse all tends to create classes of celibates who are not chaste, and whose irregular and lawless indulgence of a universal instinct is one of the most melancholy features of the present state of society.

But the Church has an additional function in the city which a countryman knows little about—it is a home. The hundreds and thousands of bachelors and spinsters who have been too poor or without opportunity to wed have no home; they board, or "batch." And the other thousands who have been fortunate enough to be able to marry cramp themselves and their families into one, two, or three rooms in a flat or tenement;

they, too, have no home. The Church is their only home. Here they come to know those who "do the will of the Father in heaven," and who are to them in a very real sense fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters. Here or nowhere do they learn the fundamentals of our social life—the lessons of "authority, inequality, fraternity"—to teach which the family was divinely instituted.

The sum of the matter is that the open Church has come that the people of the city "might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." It stands for the removal of those diseased conditions which "slaughter the innocents" and shorten the lives of men; for a wholesome environment which will reduce to the minimum the cases of arrested development and guarantee to every creature the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It stands for the municipalization of luxury hinted at in the apocalyptic vision of the city of God, where the best things of life, instead of being monopolized by the favored few, are made so common that gold is no longer the standard of money but the standard of paving material, and where the gates of opportunity are wide open day and night, without any fee to pay to a flunky or tribute to a corporation which has begged, or bought, or stolen a municipal franchise.

And what more shall we say? Only this, that after giving full credit to the open Church, the fact remains that the power which has made for righteousness in the world has always emanated from what we may call the "closed Church;" and we may add that only as the open Church is supplemented by or includes the closed Church is it able to command the cooperation of the best people and do the work of God. Not what a Church does, but what it stands for, determines its importance and the measure of its influence. The trouble is that the open Church is apt to degenerate into a mere institution which exists first and foremost for its own sake. It abounds in schemes, but the purpose is not so much to bring in the kingdom as to bring in proselytes. It is all the while seeking to save its own life. It is very reluctant to lose any of its institutional features, even when it finds there is an oversupply in the community. Still less is it willing to

undermine itself as an institution and sink out of sight into an improved social order of which it ought to be only a microcosm. But when it becomes vitiated with the error of almost every churchman, from Augustine to Freemantle, that the Church and the kingdom of God are coextensive and identical, the case becomes hopeless. The open Church then becomes an open sepulcher wherein lies buried forever the hope of a city to come in which the weary and heavy laden can be done forever with institutionalism and ecclesiasticism and the very temple itself, the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb being the temple thereof. So far as that Church is concerned the Book of Revelation is closed and sealed with seven seals which the Lion of the tribe of Judah himself cannot open. In this attempt to save its life the Church loses its life.

Now, the apostle exhorts us to covet the gifts which are characteristic of an institutional Church, such as "gifts of healing, helps, governments [or wise counsels], divers kinds of tongues [or schools of languages]." "And yet," he says, "show I unto you a more excellent way." That is to be desired earnestly to which Dr. Parkhurst referred when he said, "New York will not become a respectable city till its clergy are so possessed of the spirit of the old prophets as to be prepared to put a governing pressure upon secular events." "Desire earnestly spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy." It is the foolishness of preaching that has turned the world upside down. If Isaiah had been in New York Dean Hodges says he "would have been the heart and soul of a great, outspoken, radical, independent, righteous newspaper. Amos and Hosea would have put themselves in peril of the police by inflammatory speeches on the street corners and in the parks. . . . [In the commonwealth of Israel] there was no difference between a parliament and a prayer meeting. Any political question was also a religious question." If Martin Luther had been obliged to rely upon an institutional Church for his religious propaganda Romanism would simply have overwhelmed him with her open Churches for every day and all the day, her plurality of Christian workers, and her ministry to the community through educational, reformatory, and philanthropic channels. But he, being stripped of these

impediments, revived the ancient gift of prophecy which had been buried since the golden days of John Chrysostom, and the gates of Rome did not prevail against him. To our mind it is significant that though John Wesley started a poor man's bank, a poor man's lawyer, a poor man's doctor, a labor factory for the unemployed, a household salvage corps, an associated charities, a prison mission, the first cheap printing press, free public libraries, and almost everything else that would make him what Mr. Stead calls "the genuine social progenitor of the Darkest England scheme" of the Salvation Army, yet these are not what "changed the face of England." They had so little to do with it that we had actually forgotten them; they have been totally eclipsed by his work as an apostle, prophet, and evangelist.

If the Church is to conquer in this latter day she must return, not to the institutions of earlier ages, but to the prophetic ideas embodied in those institutions. Chief among these is that grossly neglected idea which marked the very beginning of Methodism. The writer was reminded of it recently when reading a letter from one of the bishops, requesting him to discuss this subject at the Church Congress at Pittsburg and to call attention to "the necessity of utilizing the so-called 'secular' week and the 'secular' agencies in the interest of true living, which is holy living." He remembered that in 1725 John Wesley met with Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* and of *Holy Dying*, and was exceedingly affected with that part of the book which relates to purity of intention. Hitherto, it seems that Wesley had been possessed of the utterly irreligious and pagan notion of life as separable into the sacred and the secular; religion was sacred, while business and politics and amusement were essentially and necessarily secular. To attend church, to take the sacrament, to sing a psalm, to say a prayer—that was religion; it had nothing to do with trade and industry and the affairs of the world in which all men are interested. Hence men had no interest in religion. The greatest cathedrals in England were deserted. The secular life was not sanctified, and so the sacred life became secularized, and clergy and laity went down into the pit together. The reading of Taylor's exposition of

a more wholesome religious doctrine opened the eyes of Wesley to the sacredness of the secular life. "Instantly," says he, "I resolved to dedicate all my life to God—all my thoughts and words and actions—being thoroughly convinced there was no medium, but that every part of my life (not some only) must either be a sacrifice to God or myself, that is, in effect, the devil." If the Church of the Wesleys and all other Churches had stood tenaciously for that one idea there would have been little if any occasion for open or institutional Churches, our social conditions would long ago have been civilized and humanized. If the sacredness of all life had been as faithfully preached as that other doctrine to which Mr. Wesley did not come till fourteen years afterward, the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, the influence of Methodism alone would have been sufficient to make the Churches more Christian, politics purer, and commerce and industry holier. To this day there is no Gospel surpassing that of the sacredness of the secular life in its power to transform perfunctory preachers into prophets, to fill the empty pews, and to enable the open Church to do its proper work.

If the bishops of souls in all the denominations are the spiritual successors of the apostles and prophets, let them put our preachers in remembrance to stir up the gift of prophecy which is in them by the laying on of episcopal hands. Our Churches and schools are full of young Timothys waiting for such bishops to lay hands on them. Let us have a fulfillment of that which is promised for these last days: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. . . . And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." We need the open Church, but not unless it is also and preeminently a prophesying Church.

J. W. Magruder

Art. VIII.—MORMON THEOGONY.

For some years the writer has made a study of the Mormon system of belief, and herewith proceeds to record the result of his findings, all of which is taken from the published and authenticated works of Mormonism.

Like the school of Athenian Greeks in the time of Paul, it recognizes all the known gods and the unknown, in order to be loyal to them all. The teachings of all their wise men, from Joseph Smith to B. H. Roberts, are full of polytheistic doctrine; they regard also the male and female element in divinity, and pay homage to both and worship both. This is divulging no secret—nor are we bound to keep their secrets—for they are not at all diffident nor reticent in their theological proclamations. When the magnificent tabernacle choir won its laurels at the World's Fair in Chicago its main song was the one universal favorite in Mormondom—an ascription of praise and coequal power to the father and the mother divinities.* An endless procession of the gods is recognized by Mormon writers, and such is defended from contorted expressions of the Holy Bible. A first president god sits as ruler; his home is near to Kolob, a planet or a sun graphically described in the *Pearl of Great Price*.† This is a book written by Abraham and translated by the prophet Joseph Smith. It declares:

> And I, Abraham, had the Urim and Thummim which the Lord God had given unto me in Ur of Chaldees, and I saw the stars that they were very great, and that one of them was nearest to the throne of God. And the Lord said unto me, "These are the governing ones and the name of the great one is Kolob, because it is near unto me. . . . I have set this one to govern all those which belong to the same order of that upon which thou standest." And the Lord said unto me by Urim and Thummim that Kolob was after the manner of the Lord according to its times and seasons in the revolutions thereof; that one revolution was a day unto the Lord after his manner of reckoning, it being one thousand years according to the time appointed unto that whereon thou standest. This is the reckoning of the Lord's time according to the reckoning of Kolob.

* Hymn 130, p. 143, *Latter-Day Saints' Hymns*.

† Pp. 58, 59, 1888 edition.

The star standing next to Kolob in this Egyptian system as given by Abraham is Oliblish; it is equal to Kolob, and holds the keys of power as pertaining to the other planets.* Another governing star in this Abrahamic system is Enish-go-on-dosh, said by the ancient Egyptians to be the sun and to borrow its light from Kolob, through the medium of Kae-e-vanrash. The latter receives its power through Kli-flos-is-es, or Hah-ko-kau-beam; these receive their light from Kolob.†

As collateral proof of this belief among those high in authority we shall quote from the *Millennial Star*.‡ Brigham Young, when governor of the Territory of Utah, issued a thanksgiving proclamation, December 19, 1851, for New Year's day of 1852. In the course of a very elaborate state paper of thirteen hundred words he counseled the people to cease from quarrels and starve the lawyers, to retain their good health so that they would need no doctors; and he closes the document with these words:

> Retire to bed early that you may be refreshed, and arise early again, and so continue until times and seasons are changed; or, finally, I say unto you, let the same process be continued from day to day until you arrive unto one of the days of Kolob—where a day is equal to one thousand of our years—the planet nearest unto the habitation of the eternal Father; and if you do not find peace and rest unto your souls by that time in the practice of those things, and no one else shall present himself to offer you better counsel, I will be there and, knowing more, will tell you what you ought to do next.

This important paper is attested by the acting secretary, W. Richards.

We are not bringing up effete and discarded dogmas. But in the *New Witness for God*—the latest text-book for Mormon youth, bearing the recommendation and indorsement of the Church, and published coetaneously with the advent of statehood, 1895–1896—is taught the man-god doctrine. Brigham Young is to be a god by this teaching, and as announced in the above proclamation is to give "peace and rest." We copy

* Reynolds, *Book of Abraham.*
† *New Witness for God*, p. 449.
‡ Vol. xiv, p. 198.

here two stanzas of hymn 130,* proclaiming the man-god as well as the divine mother theory:

I had learned to call thee, Father,
By thy spirit from on high;
But, until the key of knowledge
Was restored, I knew not why;
In the heavens are parents single?
No, the thought makes reason stare.
Truth is reason; truth eternal
Tells me, I've a mother there.

When I leave this frail existence,
When I lay this mortal by,
Father, mother, may I greet you
In your royal court on high?
Then, at last, when I've completed
All you sent me forth to do,
With your mutual approbation
Let me come and dwell with you.

Still another quotation teaching the man-god doctrine is as follows:

One other point I must not omit to mention. I know how like sacrilege it sounds to modern ears to speak of man becoming God. Yet why should it be so considered? . . . Why should it be considered blasphemous to teach that man by faith and righteousness in following the counsels of God shall at last become like him and share his power and glory, being a God? I grant you the height from our present position looks tremendous, yet it is not impossible of attainment, since we have eternity in which to work.†

On this same subject the *Millennial Star* has the following words:

The prophet, Joseph Smith, corrected the idea that God that now is was always God. "We have imagined," said he, "that God was God from all eternity. I will refute that idea and will take away the veil so that you can see. . . . God himself, the Father of us all, dwelt on an earth the same as Jesus Christ himself did. . . . The Scriptures inform us that Jesus said, 'As the Father hath power in himself even so hath the Son power'—to do what? Why, what the Father did. The answer is obvious, in a manner, to lay down his body and take it up again. Do you believe it? If you do not believe it you do not believe the Bible . . . God himself was once as we are

* *Latter-Day Saints' Hymns.* Author of hymn, Eliza R. Snow-Smith.
† *New Witness for God*, p. 463.

now, and is an exalted Man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens. That is the great secret. Here then is eternal life, to know that only wise and true God, and you have got to learn how to become gods yourselves . . . the same as all gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another." *

And still further one of the recent writers of Mormonism declares, on the same subject, that "there now exists an endless line of gods, stretching back into the eternities, that had no beginning and will have no end. Their existence runs parallel with duration, and their dominions are limitless, as boundless as space." †

This is a summary of part of the faith of Mormons, young and old, to-day.

* *Millennial Star*, vol, xxiii, p. 245. Sermon by Joseph Smith.
† B. H. Roberts, in *New Witness for God*, p. 466. 1895.

J. D. Gilliland

Art. IX.—THE HOLY GHOST IN SPIRITUAL PERCEPTION.

The Christian faith emphasizes the personality of man and the personality of deity. To it is to be attributed the presentation to the world of the true personality of man; for neither Plato nor Aristotle nor any school of ancient philosophers had a proper conception of man's personality. Consequently they had no proper conception of the personality of deity; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that a proper conception of the person of man is essential to a knowledge of the person of deity. Christianity presents man as a person, deity as a person, and reveals them in the relation of Creator and creature, this relation being absolute; and of Father and Son, this being relative and conditional, and partaking of the character of an experience in consciousness through the direct communication of the Holy Spirit.

This latter is erected as a precious doctrine in the Christian Scriptures, and has particularly found a conspicuous place in Protestant theology, especially in Arminianism and later in Wesleyan Arminianism. We, therefore, are peculiarly affected by anything which seems either to unsettle the doctrine or establish it in the thought of men. This article seeks to examine the doctrine from a new point of view. It inquires as to its genuineness from a psychological view-point. For the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit is at once the most startling and wonderful feature of Christian experience; and, were it not so rationally and satisfactorily in the consciousness of vast multitudes, it were audacity itself to promulgate or testify to so stupendous a fact as that the Spirit of the almighty, ever-living God communicates to the spirit of a believer the fact of his adoption, so that he knows the fact from the voice of God. The doctrine is taught in two places in the Scriptures (Rom. viii, 15, 16; Gal. iv, 6).* But wherever taught or implied it is a soul experience. Psychol-

* It is interesting to note the construction. In Gal. iv, 6, "God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father." The Spirit cries within our hearts. In Rom. viii, 15, "But ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." The Spirit teaches us to cry, "Abba, Father." Every father teaches his child to say, "Father." So our heavenly Father teaches his children.

ogy challenges theology. Our experiences are put to the crucial test. We need not be alarmed, however. Truth will always survive. If the doctrine is established in truth, theology will be the gainer by a psychological test. "The witness of the Spirit" is a theological phrase. "The Holy Ghost in spiritual perception" is a psychological phrase. There is no witness of the Spirit in our spirit unless there is such a thing as spiritual perception. When the Scriptures teach the doctrine they assume the reality of this perception and the reliability of the soul to interpret its spiritual experience. Is the assumption credible? Is psychology antagonistic to this and kindred spiritual experiences set forth in our Bible? Can a true psychological basis be discovered? The discussion is new. Let us see.

The personality of man is not entirely understood; hence psychology may not be sure of many experiences possible to man, and indeed is not. But there is no possible way by which we can eliminate the psychological problem. We have too long looked upon theology as discourses upon God; we fail to remember there could be no theology without man, and that man is the most considerable factor in it, at least fifty per cent of it. And, as man so largely figures in it, the problems are many of them psychological; regeneration and the witness of the Spirit are purely so. The question is therefore legitimate. To fix the experience upon a rational basis and place it where rational tests can be made is to give it a potency along with other soul experiences so commonly received. The following propositions underlie our argument: (1) Man as a person is capable of knowing himself; (2) He is capable of knowing being other than himself; (3) He meets and communes with persons other than himself; (4) Personality is therefore known to him; (5) There is an instinctive tendency bearing him outward to a Person invisible, omnipotent, whom he designates as God, the absolute, the all-soul, or by some similar name the content of which is about the same. (6) The soul is insatiate for God, and is at rest only as it comes to a well-defined consciousness of fellowship with him. (7) The Christian Scriptures recognize the insatiate longing,*

* Psalm lxiii, 1; lxxxiv, 2.

and are the writings which guide the soul to satisfaction. (8) The highest possible experience in religion set forth in the Scriptures is "the witness of the Spirit," and the soul abides in this as the most satisfactory, and that which answers all the soul's cravings for God. (9) In this experience the soul perceives or cognizes the Holy Ghost. (10) Fundamental to the foregoing is this proposition from Illingworth, that self-communication is of the essence of personality.* Syllogistically stated, Personality seeks to know personality; the essence of personality is the desire for communion; man as a person is insatiate to know God; God as a person seeks to communicate himself; communion will therefore most likely be established between them. This is natural and rational.

Various objections may at this point be considered:

Objection 1: The experience cannot be viewed as an external phenomenon. The material object or that other "human person" is intrenched in the physical senses. This experience is not.

Answer. The objection assumes too much, namely, that experiences dealing with the sensuous are more reliable than the nonsensuous. Then the objection applies to all soul experiences. We talk of sense perception, but now the *doctrinaires* are insisting that all sense perception is at the last psychical. Porter says the perception must be distinguished from the organic instruments.† Every experience is resolved back into the soul. Sensation, memory, judgment center in consciousness. Spiritual perception, as every other kind of perception, is at the last in consciousness. That is, the soul sits in judgment as to whether this is a sense perception, an æsthetic perception, or a spiritual perception, and determines the sources whence it comes. Perception is a generic term, and is not prescribed to objects of sense. The soul has insight as well as outsight.

Objection 2: It is urged that the witness to sonship is

* *Personality, Human and Divine*, p. 113.

† "The most general assertion which we make is that sense perception is clearly and distinctively a psychical, and not a physiological, phenomenon. We are prepared by our previous analysis to distinguish perception from the organic instruments and conditions that are essential to it."—*Intellectual Science*, p. 101.

claimed by too narrow a circle, that it does not meet the universality of other soul experiences.

Answer. Many well-authenticated soul experiences are not universal. To require universality in experience before admitting a fact would be nihilism to mental science—indeed, to any science—because the objection ignores one of the fundamentals operative in every science, namely, any fact can only be realized by harmonizing with the conditions necessary to its existence. Luminosity is realizable by vision, hardness by the sense of touch, heat by the same, extension by touch and vision. Harmony with conditions—result, realization of some fact. Thus all experiences are limited. There is no such thing as universal knowledge of fact independent of this principle.

This limitation in knowledge is very marked in everything. If one reflects he will soon see that all knowledge is departmental. Scientific truth is the personal possession of the earnest experimentalist. The psychologist has personal knowledge of his own necessarily different from that of the physicist; the naturalist, from the artist. This departmental phase makes it true that knowledge of a personal kind is always limited to a class. The privacy of any kind of knowledge is necessary. The scientist in a very decided sense holds, and must forever hold as his own, his knowledge as personal. He cannot impart it altogether. To get what he has one must go over the same road, meet the same conditions. This answers fully the objection that there is too great a privacy in religious knowledge. It is a privacy, or personal ownership, of exactly the same kind as obtains in any other kind of knowledge. Only a very few are astronomers or mathematicians, though many more could be than are. It is just a question of meeting conditions. Only a few shall we say have this knowledge of God as Father, yet many more could have it—indeed, as all men could have some personal knowledge of mathematics or philosophy if they would, so all men could have some knowledge of this if they would. But, while few comparatively have this personal experience of the fatherhood of God there are by far more who witness experimentally to this cardinal fact than there are who witness experimentally to any other cardinal fact known to

science,* and such a number that comprehended in the crowd are all ages, grades, and degrees of scholarship, reaching over many centuries. All these have come under certain conditions or tests, and just those which are set forth in the Scriptures; and, let it be noted, just those which sound philosophy sanctions. For, God is a person; man is a person. "The witness of the Spirit" or "the Holy Ghost in spiritual perception" is nothing other than a human person becoming acquainted with the divine Person; and according to philosophy one human person can become acquainted with another in one way only, by the revelation of each to the other.

We here compass in a line or two the method of such acquaintance: There must be a desire in each to know the other; there must be moral affinity; there must be opportunity and time for communion each with the other. Now, these are the identical steps taken to know God. Multitudes, vast multitudes, have had the first, a desire to know; but the two latter steps being neglected agnosticism is their only experience, and must be, until moral affinity and communion exist. All men can have the experience by taking the three steps. So we would answer the old sage who asked, "Who by searching can find out God?" by saying—any man, anywhere, at any time who will meet the conditions. The experience is for all, and is only limited, as is any other kind of knowledge, by its own peculiar tests.

Objection 3: But what shall be done with the intuitions?

Answer. Intuitions are at first latent. No one would know there were such things as intuitions did they not meet the conditions which alone bring them to consciousness. The idea of cause, or space, or time, or beauty lies outside of consciousness until the ego perceives by touch, or sight, or hearing, or tasting, or smelling; or until in some way the ego has presented the fact of being. Then this relation to somewhat

* *Personality, Human and Divine*, p. 133. Dr. Illingworth's statement seems too broad, so that the writer of this article has inserted the modifying words, "experimentally" and "cardinal." That is, H_2O makes water. How many know it experimentally? Take the two laws of attraction of gravitation; how many know anything about them experimentally? On cooling water contracts down to 39° F. Here it reaches its greatest density. On further cooling it expands until 32° F. is reached. How many know these things experimentally? Thus the writer could name scores of scientific facts known experimentally but by few.

being established in consciousness, the ego discovers the ideas we call intuitive. The empiricist has this advantage over the idealist, he recognizes the necessity of relations. Personally we are convinced that the true psychology lies between the empiricist and idealist; that is, the soul is possessed of intuitive ideas, but experience is necessary to bring them to consciousness. To illustrate, "If equals, or the same, be added to equals, the wholes are equal to one another." Here is an axiom. Now in what sense is it universal? Surely but in this, to the soul who has experience with ideas of things, or things. But things are the occasion of the discovery of the ideas of space and time in consciousness. The first proposition in Euclid from which come all the others is universal in the same sense. Conditions exist which the ego cognizing has revived within it, or appearing to consciousness certain other ideas called intuitive ideas; but experience is necessary to bring them to consciousness; otherwise the ego will never discover them. It cannot.

When universality is predicated of intuitions one of two things therefore can only be meant, or both, namely: (1) Intuitive ideas are latent in the souls of all men. They are there unperceived, and do not appear in consciousness, but in time. In this sense only are they universal; (2) The ego in which are these latent intuitions perceives somewhat, itself, or some other. That is, it enters under certain relations to being. It is put in harmony or touch with these new conditions. There follows a series of cognitions, in which there appear in consciousness certain other ideas, such as cause, time, beauty, space, which we call intuitions. This experience is universal only so far as all men meet the conditions. Experimentation with being is necessary to realization of the intuitions.

Just at this point and in the same way do we predicate the possibility of this experience to all. The God idea is intuitive. The soul is made to cognize its own states and judge of their causes. It is insatiate for God, peace, sonship. Our holy Christianity bases the possibility of the knowledge of sonship with the Father upon certain well-defined conditions, which if met in every instance bring a positive knowledge of adoption. The possibility of this glorious state being realizable rests upon the same method as does the possibility of other soul experi-

ences, namely, harmonizing oneself with certain conditions. This places the doctrine within the scientific method, appeals to reason for the same right of way, and demands the same careful tests as are granted other matters. It puts the experience before the scientist. It compels attention. In other words, it leaves the question in the pulpit on Sundays; but it puts it on week days in university and college, in the chairs of psychology along with other great soul phenomena—this greatest one of our Christian religion; and it modestly but persistently insists that the verity of the knowledge is obtained as is all other knowledge, by meeting well-defined conditions. Thus the doctrine becomes formidable.

Objection 4: It is said the motive to this belief colors the fact, and causes the mind to be self-deceived. That is, the soul wants rest. It is told this is the way to obtain it. It pursues the way, and really finds, for the time, peace. The peace is real, but the cause which produced it is self-induced. The witness of the Spirit is nothing other than the ego witnessing to its own consciousness.

Answer. The objection makes the soul sustain a delusion, self-induced through false instruction. This is possible, no doubt,* in any kind of an experience, with certain temperaments, for a short time. But what kind of an experience is this? (1) It is an experience which has been enjoyed by multitudes; (2) For centuries it has been taught as possible, and that by the most scrutinizing intellects the world ever saw; (3) At this moment many of the finest minds, scholarly, critical, sensitive that they shall not be mistaken and teach error, maintain and contend for the experience. (4) They have all come to it in about the same way. The method is uniform, the same tests are enjoined upon all. This would indicate a law controlling the experience. (5) The soul cannot from generation to generation and over a very long number of years sustain a delusion where there is no ulterior motive, as there is none in this, unless it be to please God. For the classes who

*Childhood is full of delusions. See F. W. Robertson's sermon on the "Illusiveness of Life." Experience dispels these, maturity is destructive of delusion. Experiences are in character, delusive, illusive, and genuinely real. They are individual and local, individual and general, individual and historic. The historic experience has the weight of generations in it. It is the one experience which comes with the aggregated testimony of ages, having the maturity of the race to enforce it.

maintain this experience are the very salt of the earth. (6) If this experience can be questioned every great experience can be questioned, and agnosticism, the despair of the soul, and the travesty of reason, will claim right of way. The experience has antiquity, scholarship, the instinctive tendency, and very much else to support it. (7) Finally, there is not anything more rational than that God should under certain conditions testify to our sonship. Every father does this to his son. Is God Almighty the only dumb parent in the universe? Reason answers, No!

Locke recognized what was called the retention of the act. That is to say, a particular experience exists in consciousness; look at it and it is lost, another is before you. But there is ability to recall the experience. To this test the spiritual sense has been forced. Reason sits asking and answering questions. The processes of analysis and synthesis, as in every other perception, go on in consciousness. Reason has no respect for the cognition just because it is religious. Reason asks for reality. Nothing finally satisfies but that. Now, the soul has the same ability to judge of the causes and character of its spiritual perceptions as it has of its æsthetic. This must be granted, and granting this either makes the soul unreliable in all other matters or reliable in this.

The Church doctrine will have no more bearing upon the conclusion reached by the religionist than the philosophic doctrine of the schools will upon the philosopher. Reason will sit in judgment at the last. Dogmatic theology has no doubt about the same proportionate bearing upon the critical Christian psychologist as dogmatic philosophy has upon the non-Christian philosopher. The mind is likely to be fair with itself. The Christian mind is neither less scientific nor more prejudiced than the average mind, and the educated Christian specialist certainly, other things being equal, will as carefully differentiate between the imaginative and the real as will the skeptical specialist. Here then is the Gibraltar upon which the argument rests: The reliability of the soul to know; the disposition of the soul to be fair with itself; the positiveness of the experience in those who have met the conditions.

Objection 5: The soul knows itself only.

Answer. This is not tenable. This is the pure idealistic view. But granting what is not true, that the soul knows only itself, this fact would not leave the spiritual sense any less real than it is. The soul knows its own states. It knows phenomena. It knows relations. It knows things. Through its representative faculty it takes hold of objects. Through its æsthetic power it cognizes beauty; through its spiritual faculty, God. Reason, judgment, imagination, emotion have created the arts and sciences and commerce. The moral and spiritual faculties have given us law, theology, creed and Church, hymnology and ritual. One set of creations points to this life, being the result of sense perception; the other, to the life beyond, being the result of spirit perception. That the soul knows itself as a personality is certain. That the soul knows being distinct from self is certain. That the soul has an instinctive tendency toward an infinite Person is certain. That the soul knows personality other than self is certain. The instinctive tendency to know God is a twofold prophecy that there is a God to know, and that it is possible for man to know him. Analogy guarantees to us the right to expect that this instinctive longing shall be satiated. Reason assures us when the longing is appeased, the soul will most certainly know it.

Objection 6: Why have the psychologists not said more about this?

Answer. Psychology is the science of all soul phenomena. Not all psychologists have had the experience. All could have had it. Many have hinted at it; some have spoken upon the religious feelings. Then many have left the doctrine to theology and theologians. Schleiermacher in his religious system recognized a peculiar religious feeling which took cognizance of the presence of the Infinite in the soul. Bowne, in his *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, discusses the religious feelings, and while he does not mention this experience it is generally believed that he enjoys it. Then, it must be remembered, moral fitness is imperative in this high experience. We say, moral fitness. We mean that no man is primarily morally fit to know God, nor can he know him until there exists actual moral affinity between him and God. It

requires certain *a priori* experiences before moral fitness is acquired, such, for instance, as repentance. We will not enlarge upon this. The suggestion alone is necessary. Without holiness "no man shall see the Lord" is Scripture. Without holiness no man can see the Lord is philosophy. The pure in heart "shall see God" is scriptural. The pure in heart do see God is as good Scripture, and is sound philosophy. This moral fitness is based in the very constitution of things. Moral unlikeness is the one great barrier to a knowledge of God as a person. The doctrine of heart purity, or moral likeness, is profoundly rational. "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?" Only one kind of a person, "he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart." It cannot be otherwise. Here then is an apology for a lack of this experience in many of a scholastic type. We must not deny agnosticism. It is an actual experience. The agnostic does not know God in consciousness. He is honest. He does not know, not because he cannot, but because he does not; and he does not because he will not.

Granting moral affinity between the soul and God, communion most naturally exists. Just as sense perception becomes clearer as the mind more and more is in harmony with the sense world, so does the spirit perception become more and more acute as the spirit continues in harmony with the spiritual world. Moral likeness is the law of moral vision, we always see him when we are like him. The poet wrote truly when he said:

> As I walk down the valley of silence,
> The dim, dark valley alone,
> I hear not the fall of a footstep around me
> Save God's and my own;
> And the hush of my heart is as holy
> As hovers where angels have flown.

He heard the footstep of God around him when his heart was holy.

God is an uncreated holy Spirit. Man is a created spirit. When man becomes holy God comes into view. Psychology and theology meet just here. This psychical experience is well authenticated. We close by giving a witty quotation from the ponderous *History of Philosophy*, by Ueberweg, regarding Herbert Spencer's system of philosophy, the charac-

teristic feature of which is evolution: "Possibly it has not yet been completely developed. Should Spencer continue to devote to philosophy his active energies for many years, it is not inconceivable that new associations may take possession of that physiological organization which he is accustomed to call himself, and perhaps be evolved into another system of first principles which may displace that which he has taught hitherto."* That is, Herbert Spencer's system is agnostic.

To swing from the agnostic to the gnostic in religion is to come over from the undefined Logos of Philo to the divine Person, the Logos of John. To believe ethical truths not to be in the constitution of things, but merely sentiments or "nervous modifications" produced in us through past ages, is iconoclastic. An ethical, gnostic philosophy, with a personal, knowable Infinite, and a personal, knowing agent, moral and therefore responsible, will never be displaced by an insipid agnosticism. To be an agnostic is easy when one considers the immeasurableness of God. To be a gnostic is easy when one considers the love of God; and it amounts to this that, whether one chooses the right or the left, he will know that only to which he adapts his own reason. "The heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain" God, so great is he; but so humble is he that he "dwells in temples made with hands." Solomon, a man, knew both facts. The "heaven of heavens cannot contain God," so great is he; but "know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" Paul, a man, knew both facts. But the most holy place of this human temple is the sanctuary of consciousness. There the Shekinah shines forth, and when the temple is purified and the Holy Ghost abides it is in consciousness that he speaks to us, teaching us to say "Abba, Father;" and it is at that moment the soul, like a mitered priest, stands silent in the divine presence, "seeing Him who is invisible."

*Vol. iii, p. 433.

J. R. T. Lathrop

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The *Review* aims to make its contributed articles reflect the thought of the Church; not of one class or school, but, as impartially as may be, the views of the various classes and schools of thought in our denomination. Such fairness as will be satisfactory to reasonable persons is justly due to varying views. In so large a body as ours the variety of opinion among men educated in different ways, in different parts of this large country or in other countries, and in different decades of a moving century, must be considerable. Occasionally we have been made aware that some contributor or would-be contributor of quite positive views on one side thinks that the other side ought not to be admitted to publication at all, and even, sometimes, that no other side has any right to exist. In fulfillment of the purpose to make the *Review* represent comprehensively the mental life of the Church the editor admits articles with which he partly or totally disagrees. For this reason it is not proper for anybody to say of something found in a contributed article, "The *Methodist Review* says;" rather should it be, "A writer in the *Methodist Review* says;" and as such articles are always over the author's autograph signature, exact correctness and fairness are practiced only when the name of the author of the quoted saying is given, so that whoever reads the statement may know who is responsible for it. Often there is the possibility that the *Review* itself is distinctly opposed to the sentiment or opinion referred to. We invite the attention of observant readers to the obvious working of a purpose to exercise fairness and secure many-sidedness in the make-up of the *Review*. The observer will notice that capable representatives of all classes, positions, ages, sexes, colors, sections, and previous or present conditions have had voice in our pages during the present editorship, which aims to recognize the rights of all entitled to utterance, to secure all-around presentation of important subjects, and to apprise the Church of the varied contents of its own mind.

OPINIONS AND MORALS.

A CONSIDERABLE number of good men seem firmly convinced that only wickedness prevents the universal prevalence of their particular beliefs. They feel, no doubt, that all other forms of faith except their own would straightway disappear if people simply sought the truth with sufficient earnestness. Prejudice and perversity appear to them the sole explanation of the great diversity of opinions in the world. They themselves being wholly free from these unlovely qualities are in possession of opinions wholly right, while such as have contrary views remain in error as a punishment for their sin.

This popular theory is not always stated in precisely these plain terms, but many people cherish it in one form or another, and even where it is not explicitly avowed it will be found to underlie much of the thinking. What else will account for the attitude which the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon so constantly maintained toward Arminians. He contrasts them with "believers in the Bible;" he calls their belief "the doctrine of men," "another gospel" as distinguished from "the truth as it is in Jesus;" and, speaking of Calvinism, he says that those who do not believe it now will before they enter heaven. Another prominent Baptist, Dr. Bright, long editor of the *New York Examiner*, in a leading article headed "Higher Life *versus* Neglected Commands," maintained that meetings for the advancement of holiness which did not multiply Baptists were nothing but a sham and an imposture, because they did not lead "toward securing a more perfect obedience to our Lord Jesus." To the objection that though enjoying the blessing they may not have had their duty as to the baptismal command revealed to them, he replies: "How could that be? For their expressed desire is to come into a state in which they shall be pleasing to God. But how can a state of persistent failure and neglect of obedience be pleasing to him? Many can answer, 'You are taking for granted in all this that the Baptists are right as to these commands. But we may seek the higher life blessing, being at the same time thoroughly convinced that the Baptists are wrong.' Very well, we answer in all sincerity, if your higher life blessing does not teach you better than that we can have no confidence in the reality of the blessing. We say with calmness we *know* that we are in accord with the Scriptures as to the mode and subjects of baptism. Therefore no higher life

can be valuable or scriptural which does not incline a man to obey the Master in these things." The argument certainly limps, but the spirit of the passage is very clear. The editor is fully convinced that no one can get very much religion without speedily becoming a Baptist. In similar style a few years ago wrote an old contributor to the *New York Evangelist*, taking the ground very confidently that the entire abolition of denominational lines would at once result from the proper sanctification of the Church; that if Christians were as full of love as the apostle Paul it would be impossible to maintain bars of separation. "All will know the will of God so perfectly," he said, "that there will be no desire and no willingness to keep up walls of separation." The Rev. George Bowen, for many years editor of the *Bombay Guardian*, said with reference to Roman Catholics who have borne high reputation for sanctity: "There is an awful amount of self-delusion in the assumed devotion of such a one to the will of God. For our own part we are persuaded that one who is sincerely desirous of knowing and doing all the will of God will be guided to that knowledge, and not be permitted to spend his life in bearing testimony to a system that conspicuously antagonizes the Gospel of Christ and the people of Christ. A more absorbing devotion to the will of God would have obtained for them the light they lacked. He that followeth me, saith the Light of the world, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. He will not mock his children by promising to lead them into all truth and then failing to do it when there is an intense desire on their part for such guidance."

Many other quotations of the same sort from various authors, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Puritan, Anglican, and Methodist, might be given. But these, doubtless, will suffice to show how the matter appears to a large class of minds. They entertain no doubts whatever as to their possessing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and just as fully convinced are they that what is so perfectly clear to them, staring at them from every page of Scripture, would be equally clear to all who would surrender their pride, be thoroughly honest, and receive just what God is so earnestly trying to give them. Why should one Christian man charge other Christian men of repute for godliness equal to his own with being willfully obstinate, dishonest, without candor, flippant, or captious because

they differ from him on some points of doctrine or experience. It is the too common way of regarding theological opponents, but it is not the best way. It breeds uncharitableness and censoriousness. It is the spirit of intolerance and persecution. Such people indignantly repudiate the intimation that they take the Scripture as they understand it or interpret it and others must be allowed the same right. No, indeed, is the reply, we do not take the Scripture as we understand it, but *as it is*, as it reads ; there is no occasion for interpretation. They are of the same mind with the ancient Puritans and the modern Romanists, with whom religious liberty is simply liberty to believe right, which means as that particular oracle believes. Cardinal Gibbons says in his *Faith of Our Fathers*, "A man enjoys religious liberty when he possesses the free right of worshiping God according to the dictates of a right conscience, and of practicing a form of religion most in accordance with his duties to God;" "the Church can never admit that any man is conscientiously free to reject the truth." So, too, the founders of Massachusetts counted it clearly a crime, deserving the scourge and branding iron, to believe wrong or in any other way than they themselves believed, for they, of course, were God's peculiar people, inheriting the promises and guided into all truth. People who did not see eye to eye with them must be bad. But such a position is plainly incorrect and mischievous. Sincerity is no guarantee of absolute truth. God nowhere engages to preserve from intellectual error those who serve him with all their heart. A person may have a great deal of love in the heart and little clear and unquestionable knowledge in the mind. A few distinctions, that have not been always observed or remembered, may help to make the matter reasonably clear. The promise of Jesus that the Holy Spirit would guide his followers into all truth, and the declaration of James that those who lack wisdom shall have a plentiful supply if they but ask of God, are the two passages most frequently quoted in this connection. But, like a multitude of other passages, they will not bear the strain which has been put upon them. The "wisdom" which we may ask with perfect assurance of reception is surely that "wisdom which is from above, first pure, then peaceable," that wisdom "more precious than rubies," whose "ways are ways of pleasantness," and which consists in "the fear of the Lord." This is the biblical idea of wisdom, the "one thing needful,"

and not the discernment of truth, or good judgment and the sagacious ordering of one's ways in the affairs of daily life. And as to Christ's promise, few texts have been more misapplied, but the meaning does not seem at all in doubt. Not "all truth" in any absolute or widely comprehensive scope could possibly have been intended either for the apostles or their remote successors. They were not to be made omniscient, evidently, or infallible on all subjects; nor were the regular processes of investigation and discovery, by which the human intellect has made its progress, to be forestalled. They were simply told that all the truth essential to the right discharge of their special mission would be furnished them, that the Spirit would reveal things to them that they were not now fitted to receive, and thus they would become, in that future dispensation, completely equipped for all their duties. It is this same measure of truth which we in these times may confidently expect. Not infallible correctness even of religious knowledge, still less of secular information, not freedom from error in all our intellectual processes, is to be looked for even by those who have the purest intentions and fullest measure of grace. They shall know their personal duty, that is all; their personal duty undoubtedly, for a man must do what, after using all the means of light within his reach, he concludes to be right. So doing he is blameless before God, but he may sadly blunder, nevertheless, so far as the results which he intended to accomplish are concerned. Those mistakes he will regret, but they entail no guilt. They must be regarded as in some sense intended by God, or at least taken up into his great plan and included among the all things that work together for the good of the innocent, right-meaning blunderer.

Opinions and morals have, no doubt, very close connection, each acting powerfully upon the other. But it is not the opinions themselves which constitute or control character nearly so much as it is the process of arriving at them. The earnest, open-minded search for truth is imperative. Devotion to it is the first mark of a noble mind. Readiness to give up self-will and adopt God's, tireless patience in examining proofs, watchfulness against prepossessions, holding in abeyance all personal preferences, checking every emotion likely to bias impartial decision, close scrutinizing of each particle of evidence, are essential for genuine loyalty to the truth. And one may be utterly

loyal in all these ways and yet, because of the time in which he lives and the circumstances around him, come very far short of finding what he seeks. Hence opinions are not in themselves a final criterion of character—are not of necessity lawful ground of praise or blame. Have they been honestly come by, and are they sincerely held? are the important questions. Many men are better than their opinions, many are worse. In the one case there has been great faithfulness and conscientiousness, resulting in acceptance with God. In the other case there has been an idle, effortless acquiescence in what the majority think; and the fact of its being to a great degree correct is a mere accident. That man must be very young, or have made very poor use of his powers of observation, who does not know that there are in the world persons of a great variety of beliefs who give every conceivable evidence of being equally sincere in their convictions, equally earnest in their desire to know and do the right, equally zealous in their attempts to win the favor of God. Those who seek this favor are not all included within the limits of a single denomination or a single religion. None but those mentally unhinged by sectarian bigotry will claim this. Some of the very holiest men of past ages have held views totally at variance with what we deem most important truths. This is also the case to-day, and must always be just so long as the human mind is constituted as it now is.

If these things are so, then it follows that the reason why good men differ is not because a part of them are wholly consecrated and have the Spirit's guidance, while the rest are abandoned to the errors which they more or less willfully love. Not this at all. Men of equal piety strongly differ in doctrine because truth is many-sided, and the feeble, fallible intellect of man can grasp it but imperfectly. While one class of minds is powerfully impressed by one aspect of the truth another class is impressed by a variant aspect, and it is impossible for the two to see the matter alike. It is undoubtedly best that it should be so, and no blame attaches to anyone on account of it. The idea that a moral fault must be at the bottom of a mental error, in spite of its wide acceptance, is without foundation. The evil it has wrought is enormous. Let it be buried.

Were this distinction fully apprehended a different order of things in controversy would speedily appear. Personalities would vanish. Disputants would strike at the opinions they

dislike, but not at the persons behind them. It would be easy to give credit for right motives and even for large ability. We should not have to infer that our opponents were either foolish or knavish, but only differently made and circumstanced—from no fault of their own. Men would be blamed only for conscious baseness, for willfully doing a known wrong, for disloyalty to what they acknowledged as the truth. There would be much greater catholicity of spirit, much less bigotry and intolerance. We should have a clearer view of the good there is in people not congenial to us and the truth there is in views we do not accept. Intellectual honesty and intellectual hospitality would be greatly encouraged, while both Churches and individuals now suspicious, accusing, and belligerent would be brought into harmonious relations.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI'S DEVOTIONAL PROSE.

Even the most scholarly and learned may find refreshment, stimulus, and probably instruction, in the religious meditations of intelligent and thoughtful saints who are not professed theologians; and no small part of the value of Holy Scripture may consist in the meanings evoked therefrom by the spiritually minded and experienced who know not Greek or Hebrew, and who read the Bible, not critically, but absorbingly, with the insight of the pure in heart and for the good which a sincere and loving soul may find therein.

Miss Rossetti was a godly as well as gifted woman who thought for herself and was deeply experienced up and down the octaves of the devout soul's possible life. All her force and feeling went with her intense religious convictions and firm faith in Christian doctrine. In her writings we perceive, not only the simplicity of a spirit too sincere to pretend, but the precision, directness, and soberness of a trained mind as well. Even the most mystical of her devotional prose and verse is kept wholesome by pervasive sanity and sound sense, exhibiting, not the unclear and vaporish sentimentalizing of a weak woman, but the steady step of a compact and capable intelligence along hallowed paths, and offering pregnant sayings, sensible homilies, cheerful exhortations, and wise disquisitions. Considering that she had the poetic temperament, with both a genius and a passion for symbolism, and was naturally rather more apt at imaginative embellishment than at close reasoning, it is remarkable that she

should touch theological themes with so much knowledge and discretion. But this brilliant symbolist does not feel at liberty to indulge her propensity to symbolism simply for the sake of the pleasure which a fertile ingenuity finds in its own free exercise, and it is evident that she is restrained from taking poetic liberties with precise Truth by the fear of the Lord and by conscientious reverence for the inviolable sanctity of His Word. Against unwarranted symbolism and excessive typology in our interpretations of Scripture we may all be warned by the words with which she admonishes herself :

> Symbolism affords a fascinating study; wholesome so long as it amounts to aspiration and research; unwholesome when it degenerates into a pastime. As literal shadows tend to soothe, lull, abate keenness of vision, so perhaps symbols may have a tendency to engross, satisfy, and arrest souls which are incautious, unwatchful, and unprayerful lest they enter into temptation.

Nevertheless, without resort to uninspired and unjustifiable symbolism, it was inevitable that the Divine Word should be immensely suggestive to her sanctified mind, which found plain passages pregnant with, or pointing to, great meanings, which penetrated by intuition to the heart of sacred matters, and flashed a searchlight into mysteries profound. She is thrilled by the transcendent sublimity of the biblical language, and perceives the depth of the riches stored in the Holy Book. To the feast of fat things spread therein she sits down, not with a critic's captiousness, but with a hearty and healthy appetite, not for chemical analysis, but for delectable mastication and nutritious assimilation of the finest of God's wheat. While best known for the gorgeous diction and brilliant imagery of those sacred poems which set her in the select company of Herbert, and Vaughan, and Crashaw, and Southwell, and Herrick, and Keble, and Faber, and Cardinal Newman, and which associate her as a woman in her own time with Adelaide Procter, Jean Ingelow, Dora Greenwell, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Miss Rossetti also poured no small portion of herself into the list of devotional prose works entitled *Annus Domini; Seek and Find; Called to Be Saints; Letter and Spirit, or Notes on the Commandments; Time Flies;* and *The Face of the Deep,* the latest, longest, and noblest of her prose volumes, a semiexpository meditation on the Book of Revelation, the chief lesson of which book she considers to be Patience. As might be expected from a nature whose very pulse-beats were rhythmical, a subtle

unmarked rhythm often makes her prose as musical as poetry, and scattered here and there through the volumes just named are bits of verse, "exquisite solemn lyrics, fervid and intense in their piety, ecstatic in their rapture."

Not all of Miss Rossetti's writings are on sacred themes. Among her poems are bird-songs, child-songs, laughing lyrics, and many a piece of airy fantasy full of gayeties and frolicsome imaginings. Yet, beyond question the value of her life is found in her religious writings, glorified by their glowing faith and intense with the passionate devotion of a saintly woman's soul. Flowers, like other earthly objects, are to her emblems of holier things. "Hope is like a harebell trembling from its birth;" "Faith is like a lily lifted white and high." How fully the natural was to her a mirror of the supernatural, and things physical were parables of things spiritual, is seen in the "Parable of Nature" which she saw one summer night when the gas was lighted in her little room and she perceived on the paperless bare wall a spider puzzled and frightened at his own shadow which he could not understand or get away from. This poor self-haunted spider, running madly about and trying to disengage himself from the horrible inalienable pursuing presence, was to her a symbol of the impenitent sinner who, having outlived enjoyment, remains isolated irretrievably with his own horrible, loathsome self. Among the thoughts most constantly present with her are the misery and exceeding sinfulness of sin and the subtlety and dreadful peril of temptation. "The Goblin Market," one of her most important productions, is an allegory of temptation and redemption; and the poem entitled "Amor Mundi" is an allegory of how love of the world inevitably leads to destruction, the beaten way it treads being "hell's own track." Her sense of the universal need of forgiveness is seen in the prayer she offers after reading the words in Rev. xv, 4, "For thou only art holy." This is her prayer:

> O Lord Jesus Christ, who only art holy, forgive, I implore Thee, forgive and purge the unholiness of thy saints, the unholiness of thy little ones, the unholiness of thy penitents, the unholiness of the unconverted, the unholiness of me a sinner. God be merciful to us sinners. Amen.

The true insight and balanced judgment of this positive and unwavering believer are seen in her comment on the doubt of Thomas: "St. Thomas doubted. Skepticism is a degree of unbelief; equally, therefore, it is a degree of belief. It may be

a degree of faith. St. Thomas doubted; but simultaneously he loved. Whence it follows that his case was all along hopeful." A capacity for pungency marks her sharp word concerning atheism: "Devils are not atheists; we are emphatically certified that they believe and tremble. . . . Atheism appears to be a possibility confined to a lower nature. 'No man hath seen God at any time:' that flesh and blood, which cannot inherit the kingdom of God, may, if it will, deny His existence." To her invisible things are visible, and a populous spiritual world is near and real and vivid. She sees the spirits of the blessed martyrs, luminous and lovely. She believes that even here we are surrounded by unseen hosts in whose company we shall hereafter rejoice in a world without end. She takes the Scriptures literally and believes in guardian spirits watching over us. She thinks "dear angels and dear disembodied saints, unseen around us," who dwell in glory which we cannot see, wonder that our hearts so often faint and our steps lag along the heavenward way. She loves God all the more "because He hath given His angels charge concerning His own to keep them in all their ways; because the armies of heaven pitch their camp around the faithful when need arises; because blessed spirits minister to the heirs of salvation; because they rejoice over one sinner that repenteth. . . . When it seems (as sometimes through revulsion of feeling and urgency of Satan it may seem) that our yoke is uneasy and our burden unbearable, because our life is pared down and subdued and repressed to an intolerable level; and so in one moment every instinct of our whole self revolts against our lot, and we loathe this day of quietness and sitting still, and writhe under a sudden sense of all we have irrevocably foregone, of the right hand, or foot, or eye cast from us, of the haltingness and maimedness of our entrance (if enter we do at last) into life—then the Seraphim of Isaiah's vision making music in our memory revive hope in our heart."

The deep problems of religion and theology fascinated her to much reading, study, and thought, and to some discussion. The old inscrutable mystery of the origin of evil she sought to penetrate, but came only to this conclusion:

> Absolute darkness engulfs me when I attempt to realize the origin of evil. Yet in that darkness, which may be felt, one point I dare not hesitate to hold fast and assert: evil had its origin in the free choice of a free will. Without free will there can be neither virtue nor vice; without free choice neither offense nor merit.

The difficult problem of Divine prescience and human free will she discussed with her friend Rev. W. Garrett Horder, editor of *The Poet's Bible*, of which discussion she says:

He once put it to me that the choice of each man's free will must be unknown beforehand even to God Omniscient Himself. To foreknow would involve to pre-ordain, and that which is ordained is not free:—so, I suppose, my friend might have gone on to argue, handling a mystery far beyond my comprehension. . . . But limited Omniscience is a contradiction in terms. A being, any one of whose attributes is limited, cannot be our Infinite Lord God.

Once she illustrates her point against Mr. Horder by telling him that her foreknowledge that he will take kindly what she writes to him does not compel him to do so.

Of the devil she writes:

Being a destroyer, our safety lies in recognizing, acknowledging, fleeing him as such. And further: so far as we are constituted our brother's Keeper, our brother's safety lies in our plainly calling him a destroyer; and never toning him down as a negation of good, or even unloathingly as an archangel ruined. Sins for like reason should be spoken of simply as what they are, never palliatingly or jocosely. Lies and drunkenness should bear their own odious appellations, not any conventional substitute. But some sins "it is a shame to speak of;" true: so let us not speak of them except under necessity; and, under necessity even, always truthfully. "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; and put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." . . . Whilst studying the devil I must take heed that my study become not devilish by reason of sympathy. As to gaze down a precipice seems to fascinate the gazer toward a shattering fall, so is it spiritually perilous to gaze on excessive wickedness, lest its immeasurable scale should fascinate us as if it were colossal without being monstrous.

And then she continues the expression of her views by a quotation from her sister Maria Francesca's *Shadow of Dante* in which Dante's Lucifer is contrasted with Milton's Satan and commended as being the wiser and truer description of the two. Maria wrote:

Some there are who, gazing upon Dante's Hell mainly with their own eyes, are startled by the grotesque element traceable through the Cantica as a whole, and shocked at the even ludicrous tone of not a few of its parts. Others seek rather to gaze on Dante's Hell with Dante's eyes; these discern in that grotesqueness a realized horror, in that ludicrousness a sovereign contempt of evil. . . . They remember that the Divine Eternal Wisdom Himself, the very and infallible Truth, has characterized impiety and sin as Folly; and they feel in the depths of the nature wherewith He has created them that whatsoever else Folly may be and is, it is none the less essentially monstrous and ridiculous. . . . A sense of the utter degradation, loathsomeness, despicableness of the soul which by deadly sin besots Reason and enslaves Free Will passes from the Poet's mind into theirs; while the ghastly

definiteness and adaptation of the punishments enables them to touch with their finger the awful possibility and actuality of the Second Death, and thus for themselves as for others to dread it more really, to deprecate it more intensely, Dante's Lucifer does appear "less than Archangel ruined," immeasurably less; for he appears Seraph willfully fallen. No illusive splendor is here to dazzle eye and mind into sympathy with rebellious pride; no vagueness to shroud in mist things fearful or things abominable. Dante's devils are hateful and hated, Dante's reprobates loathsome and loathed, despicable and despised, or at best miserable and commiserated. . . . Dante is guiltless of seducing any soul of man toward making or calling Evil his Good.

As regards whatever leads to temptation, especially temptation through the senses, Christina Rossetti is of opinion that a rule of avoidance, rather than of self-conquest or even of self-restraint, is a sound and scriptural rule:

For the Jews were bidden . . . absolutely to do away with all idols and to obliterate every trace of idolatry; not one image might they hoard as a curiosity, or an antiquity or a work of art; neither were they encouraged, even if under any circumstances it might be lawful for them, so much as to investigate the subjects of heathen rites. . . . "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is. And every man that hath this hope in Him purifieth himself, even as He is pure." Blessed indeed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. With such a beatitude in view, with so inestimable a gain or loss at stake, with such a prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus to yearn for, all we forego or can by any possibility be required to forego, becomes—could we but behold it with purged impartial eyes—becomes as nothing. True, all our lives long we shall be bound to refrain our soul and keep it low: but what then? For the books we now forbear to read, we shall one day be endued with wisdom and knowledge. For the music we will not listen to, we shall join in the song of the redeemed. For the pictures from which we turn, we shall gaze unabashed on the Beatific Vision. For the companionship we shun, we shall be welcomed into angelic society and the communion of triumphant saints. For the amusements we avoid, we shall keep the supreme Jubilee. For the pleasures we miss, we shall abide, and forevermore abide, in the rapture of heaven. It cannot be much of a hardship to dress modestly and at a small cost . . . if with a vivid conviction we are awaiting the white robes of the redeemed. . . . Solomon in all his glory was outdone by a lily of the field, and all his glory left him a prey to sensuality, and this launched him into shameless patronage of idol worship; until the glory of his greatness and the luster of his gifts, combined with the heinousness of his defection, have remained bequeathed to all ages as an awful warning.

This pure and shielded woman, full of innocence, has a keen and alarmed sense of the dangerous allurements of evil, and, full of gentleness, maintains and inculcates a sternly uncompromising attitude toward all sin. To imperiled souls this is her exhortation:

Strip sin bare from voluptuousness of music, fascination of gesture, entrancement of the stage, rapture of poetry, glamour of eloquence, seduction of imaginative emotion; strip it of every adornment, let it stand out bald as in the Ten stern Commandments. Study sin, when study it we must, not as a relishing pastime, but as an embittering deterrent. Lavish sympathy on the sinner, never on the sin. Say, if we will and if we mean it, Would God I had died for thee; nevertheless let us flee at the cry of such, lest the earth swallow us up also.

The deep emotion and holy aspiration excited in this devout disciple by her reverent searching of God's word are seen in the prayer evoked in her by the contemplation of the Saviour's passion:

Let thy pierced Heart win us to love Thee, thy torn Hands incite us to every good work, thy wounded Feet urge us on errands of mercy, thy crown of thorns prick us out of sloth, thy thirst draw us to thirst after the Living Water thou givest; let thy Life be our pattern while we live, and thy Death be our triumph over death when we come to die. Amen.

Similar in style and spirit are other noble, stately, and uplifted prose litanies addressed to Christ, full of adoration and supplication, of which the following is a fair example:

Lord Jesus, lovely and pleasant art Thou in thy high places, Thou Center of bliss, whence all bliss flows. Lovely also and pleasant wast Thou in thy lowly tabernacles, Thou sometime Center wherein humiliations and sorrows met.

Thou who wast Center of a stable, with harmless cattle and some shepherds for thy Court,
Grant us lowliness.

Thou who wast Center of Bethlehem when Wise Men worshiped Thee,
Grant us wisdom.

Thou who wast Center of the Temple, with doves or young pigeons and four saints about Thee,
Grant us purity.

Thou who wast Center of Egypt, which harbored Thee and thine in exile,
Be Thou our refuge.

Thou who wast Center of Nazareth where Thou wast brought up,
Sanctify our homes.

Thou who wast Center of all waters at thy Baptism in the River Jordan,
Still sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin.

Thou who wast Center of all desolate places during forty days and forty nights,
Comfort the desolate.

Thou who wast Center of a marriage feast at Cana,
Bless our rejoicing.

Thou who wast Center of a funeral procession at Nain,
Bless our mourning,

Thou who wast Center of Samaria as Thou sattest on the well,
Bring back strayed souls.

Thou who wast the Center of all heights on the Mount of Beatitudes,
Grant us to sit with Thee in heavenly places.
Thou who wast the Center of sufferers by the Pool of Bethesda,
Heal us.
Thou who wast Center of all harvest ground when Thou wentest through the cornfields with thy disciples,
Make us to bring forth to Thee thirty, sixty, a hundredfold.

Christina Rossetti inherited in an exceptional degree the artist temperament; romance, melody, and exquisite delight in beauty were born in her and rippled through her veins with her Italian blood. But this affluent and efflorescent nature was chastened and spiritualized; every imagination brought into subjection to Christ and dedicated to His service. Keenly alive and enamored as she was of all beautiful things in the world, she had learned that nothing else is half so lovely as are "the hands which have worked the works of Christ, the feet which treading in His footsteps have gone about doing good, the lips that have spread abroad His name, and the lives which have been counted loss for Him." Successive bereavements brought her to know the feeling of those who are oppressed with a sense of the transitoriness of life and who can find at times no glory in the sky nor music in the murmur of the breeze because everything on earth is visibly passing away, while at such times the peace of an unreached and unseen heaven seems placed too high; and sometimes in moments of depression and physical weakness her thoughts of death take on a somber and repulsive realism. Yet she bore her sorrows, and prolonged suffering as well, with submissive patience, sustained by the conviction that God's angel, Death, would release her from pain and admit her to a state of ineffable blessedness. Her life was pure, sweet, and gracious, so that a London journal could say: "Her noblest books were those books without words which she lived;" in like manner as she herself wrote concerning her *Notes on the Commandments*, "My mother's life is a far more forcible comment on the commandments than are any words of mine."

With her writings in verse and prose before us it seems safe to agree with her eulogists, who say that as long as Christianity remains as it is, the most vital and dominant force in the lives of many millions of English-speaking people, the name of Christina Rossetti is likely to be honored and cherished in the list of illustrious writers who have enriched the literature of Christian teaching by their consecrated genius.

THE ARENA.

"OUR DISJOINTED EPISCOPACY."

Dr. Potts has given us in the last November *Review* a very clear statement of our two kinds of episcopacy and a remedy for removing what seems to him, and to many, a weakness in our Church polity. With much that he says all will agree, but there are two sides to questions of such importance. Such questions are usually discussed from an American standpoint, concluding that what is good for America must be adapted to our work in all lands. The fact, however, remains that the peoples, the methods of work, the composition of the Conferences, the necessity for supervision of work, and the general environments differ greatly in different countries, and that these different conditions almost surely call for some modifications of Methodist polity in order to meet the special demands which are now made.

It is well known that the Indian brethren almost unanimously believe in, and plead for, the continuance of the plan of missionary bishops. At their Central Conference in 1896—made up of ministerial delegates from all the Annual Conferences in southern Asia, with an equal number of lay delegates from the District and womans' Conferences—they unanimously asked that the plan that gave India missionary episcopacy might not be changed, and urged that an additional bishop be appointed to make their special supervision more efficient. At their late Conference—with two general superintendents, one missionary bishop, and a representative of the managers of the Missionary Society on the platform—they confirmed their former position with a practically unanimous vote. All of the three bishops and the representative of the board spoke by special invitation on the question, and on one point all were agreed, that India must have more episcopal supervision by men resident in India. In the same report this Central Conference officially welcomed the general superintendents to India, believing that there could be no conflict between the special and the general supervision. Each Annual Conference also heartily approved the plan of the visits of the general superintendents, and the people in every place gave Bishop Foss a very sincere welcome. There is no word of opposition to this plan in India.

These missionaries, Hindustani ministers, and laymen—including a goodly number of elect women of this Central Conference—are all experienced in the India work, and their success shows that they must have some practical wisdom for such services. Hence it is evident that they must have strong reasons for their action, or such a body—made up of ministers and laymen, Americans, Europeans, Eurasians, and Hindustani from every part of southern Asia—could not be unanimous on

such a question as this. They should therefore be patiently and freely heard for their work's sake.

Their reasons grow out of the peculiarity of their methods, the rapid spread of their work, and their necessary environments in a heathen land. We are in a country full of people who are generally idolaters, with the views of truthfulness, of honesty, and of morality in general that idolaters usually have. The idea that the religious man must be a moral man has not entered their creed. We are here to save these people and build them into the Church of Christ. One of the first lessons we have learned is that Americans can never reach and save these masses; and hence our work must be to save and train India's sons and daughters, to set in motion workers, methods, and institutions, and to establish an Indian Church for saving India. We came as Methodists, and hence naturally commenced our work according to Methodist usages. We soon had converts, some were called to preach, and the question at once arose, "Shall we receive these into our Annual Conference?" The discussion reached the home papers, and one well-known writer gave us a note of warning, saying that by taking these men so lately from idolatry into our Annual Conference we were sowing dragons' teeth for our future reaping. The missionaries on the field, however, were convinced that some of the wisest and best of these preachers should have a place in our Annual Conference, with equal rights with ourselves, and that only such should be received. The others were given exhorters' licenses or local preachers' licenses, according to their ability and experience. A four years' course of study was arranged for the exhorters and another for the local preachers. When an exhorter had passed his four years' course and had given a good record of work, he could be licensed as a local preacher; and when his four years' course of study was passed as a local preacher he could enter the Annual Conference if he proved to be the kind of man needed in that body. Many workers never reach the Annual Conference. This body must be kept intelligent and strong, religiously and morally. Hence the graduate of our theological seminary even may not enter this Conference until he has been tested four years in the work.

From the above facts it will be evident that the very large portion of our regular workers are not in the Annual Conferences. Our work in the entire field has over 2,100 male workers, and only 223 are in the Annual Conference. The necessity, therefore, for having a body for all of these men where they could discuss their work, hold their examinations, and receive their appointments led to the formation of the "District Conference." This was organized and worked in India several years before it was authorized by the General Conference, and when authorized it was done on a memorial from India. These Conferences include all the male workers, and must naturally have a stronger influence on forming methods of work, on removing old customs, and on the building up of the native Church than any other Conference can have. One

District Conference, as an example, has 242 members, with an American presiding elder. There are four other missionaries in the District, three of whom are chiefly engaged in educational work, and twenty-five native members of the Annual Conference. All others who are regular workers are exhorters and local preachers, working under the presiding elder. He appoints them—with counsel, of course—he removes them, fixes their salaries, and directs their work. Hence this large Conference will naturally, almost necessarily, be guided by the will of the presiding elder. Within this district there are twenty circuits, and 112 subcircuits, each under a pastor, working in 1,222 villages in which 13,773 Christians reside. One more example: Over near Nepaul is a very large district under an excellent Hindustani presiding elder. There is no missionary in the entire field. This presiding elder, under the direction of the finance committee, administers the finances, fixes salaries, pays the workers, appoints and changes men, and presides at the District Conference, including in its field 2,000,000 people, which will, no doubt, in the near future become an Annual Conference. These are the Conferences that are near the people and have such a great power in developing their lives, in molding methods of work, and in training the workers. If there are any Conferences in the Methodist connection that require the presence of a bishop who has gained broad experience in the work and who can give careful supervision to the teachings, the methods, and the general development of the Church, are not these the Conferences that need it most? Is it wise, is it safe to leave so great responsibility, financial and religious, upon a presiding elder?

A gentleman of great experience, after looking into our plans of work, remarked that he fully believed in our plans—in fact, he saw no other way by which with our limited means we could carry on this extensive work—and that we would be compelled to increase the number of our native presiding elders and put more and more responsibility upon the Hindustani brethren, but that, if we continued to do this, it was as clear as daylight that we must give all this work careful and efficient supervision. There are now in southern Asia, in the field under the episcopal care of Bishop Thoburn, twenty-nine District Conferences, five Annual Conferences, and one Mission Conference—making a total of thirty-five Conferences and over 2,100 male workers with 110,000 converts, over which a bishop should have supervision. It is too evident to need discussion that one bishop, even with the aid given by the general superintendents, cannot possibly give to such an extended field the supervision thus demanded.

It has been asked with great force, "Why should a District Conference in India have a bishop to preside over it any more than a District Conference in America?" The answer is found in the difference in the make-up of the Conferences. There are no such Conferences in America. In India these are the Conferences of the mass of the workers that lay the foundations for our Church and fashion the superstructure.

Another, acknowledging the great need of supervision, asks, "Why not revive the old plan of superintendents of missions?" Such a plan would not meet the demand in ordaining men, making transfers to meet emergencies, and to perform other necessary duties. Besides, it has no proper place in Methodist economy, and has never worked without friction, and never can. One presiding elder as superintendent of another presiding elder would work no better in India than it would in America. Our Methodist episcopacy was first ordained for special supervision like what we need in India. The Church in America has perhaps outgrown this special phase of the work of a bishop, but the Church in India needs to-day what the Church in America needed in the beginning—authoritative, special, careful supervision, with sufficient superintendents to make the work really effective.

Bishop Foss while in India clearly saw and freely spoke of this need for more episcopal supervision, and in his episcopal address, read at the opening of the Central Conference, he says: "While the results already realized are a rich fruitage of labors which preceded them and an inspiration for the workers who are the burden-bearers of the day, they are also an earnest of larger ingatherings which must come in multiplied millions before India will have realized her redemption. Standing as we do between the exceptional successes of the past and the limitless opportunities of the immediate future, there is no question demanding our consideration of greater gravity than what modifications of our economy may be necesaary to provide for the careful supervision of the native agency needed to furnish instruction and guidance for the multitudes willing to accept the Gospel." In closing his address he says: "One important action taken by the Central India Conference at its last session furnishes clear indication of your sense of the manifest need of more episcopal supervision. I refer, of course, to the request then made for the election of an additional missionary bishop. The notable progress secured since that time and the very great, I may even say startling, development of the manifest possibility of far more rapid progress in the near future render that need still more urgent. There is no one of the bishops of our Church whose responsibilities are so grave and whose duties of supervision, in view of the swift developments sure to come in southern Asia, are of such vast and far-reaching importance as those of your resident bishop. The last General Conference gave earnest consideration to the question of the increase of episcopal supervision necessary in this immense territory, and thought it wise to attempt to supply that need by a method other than that which you had suggested. Few questions can engage the attention of the next General Conference which will require greater wisdom than this, and the right solution of which will be fraught with more important results for the future of Methodism, not only in southern Asia, but also, as a precedent, in other mission fields and possibly even in America. I know you will join me in the fervent prayer that He who raised up Methodism and has guided

its course from the beginning till now will give wisdom for this emergency." The native agencies referred to by Bishop Foss we must have, and they must increase. It is our only way of carrying forward this work, and these must have that "careful supervision" which is regarded by the bishop as urgent.

This Central Conference over which Bishops Foss and Thoburn jointly presided placed on record their report on episcopacy published in the "Arena" department of the May *Review*, which expresses the settled conviction of that body. Evidently the conviction is deep and strong in the minds of all who have become interested in our work that more careful supervision is needed, and that by resident bishops, and that the Indian brethren believe they can secure this end with greater efficiency through missionary bishops, with official visits from the general superintendents, than through any other plan.

But, it is asked, "Could not Bishop Thoburn and could not other men who would be chosen as missionary bishops for India do just as good work as general superintendents?" They reply is easy. Bishop Thoburn could not have been elected as general superintendent under the Discipline. India delegates tried through two General Conferences for this and failed, and finally accepted what they could get, which was not what they asked. Should India select another man, or two men, as it selected Bishop Thoburn—men who could give it the special efficient supervision demanded in all these districts—these men could not be elected as general superintendents under the present law of the Church, with the prospect that should their health fail at any time they would return to America and take their places regularly on the board of bishops. The bishop for Africa could not have been so elected. To elect men as general superintendents who would not be so elected except for their fitness for the work of one special field would under our present law be a measure so evidently unwise that no General Conference will ever make such an election. But to refuse a country like India the supervision demanded by the exigencies of the work, because the men fitted for this work are not the men who would naturally be selected for general superintendents, is also a measure so unwise that we do not believe another General Conference will refuse it. Dr. Potts's plan of electing the special superintendents as general superintendents and of electing "any other experienced missionaries to the same office when the exigencies of the work require it" could only be carried out under some law that would strictly and permanently limit the fields of these missionaries. No General Conference will allow men who have been in a foreign field all their lives to return to America and fill places on the board of bishops there. The plan is neither wise nor workable, either for America or for India, nor would it make our episcopacy less "disjointed" to have general superintendents who could exercise their authority only in a special field.

Why should we not then acknowledge the fact that our churches in

heathen lands are under peculiar circumstances and need that specially careful supervision which has been provided in our missionary episcopacy; and why not elect sufficient men to this work to make the needed supervision really efficient? Admit that these men so elected are special superintendents; pay them as our Central Conference recommends, proportionate with the salaries of other missionaries in the field; and consider them and honor them as missionary bishops, set apart by the Church as superintendents of mission work. This arrangement would fully meet the special demand.

Besides the work of these special superintendents let the general superintendents visit these mission fields as often as the General Conference may direct, and let the managers of the Missionary Society, as suggested by our Central Conference, send a representative of their body—bishop, corresponding secretary, minister, or laymen—as often as they may deem expedient to look into all the financial administration of these fields. This would give general and special supervision of all our work and all our interests, would keep up our connection with the Church at home, would give needed information to the board and to the general committee on missions, and would give efficiency to every part of our work.

Shahjahanpore, India. E. W. PARKER.

"THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT."

IN the January number of the *Review* Rev. J. H. Willey animadverts on my criticism of his paper, "The Function of Doubt," conjecturing that I "entirely missed the purpose" of his article. A glance at the opening paragraph of my critique should have prevented him from advancing so wild a conjecture. But he evidently skipped the beginning and jumped to his conclusion.

In his charming note he informs us that he simply considered "certain effects" of phenomena and wrote "from the standpoint of the doubter." It would then have been wise not to have substituted fancy for fact and imagination for argument. This was the great weakness of Dr. Willey's article. It may be poor taste, poetically considered, to insist that fancy and imagination are not reliable factors in a serious discussion, but some humble folk are innocent enough to thus insist. It would be well also when writing "from the standpoint of the doubter" to choose a less ancient and antiquated "standpoint," for the paper criticised did not suggest a doubt which has not been rehashed again and again and which constitutes the stock in trade of that prince of jesters, Robert Ingersoll. Hence, if some of the arguments of the critique were "elementary" and "timeworn," Brother Willey's "standpoint" must be held responsible. To be sure, he made an heroic attempt to parade these doubts in modern garb, but his success was by no means brilliant. New garments do not restore life to a dead man. Having employed the old saws, he should scarcely wonder that old hammers were used to break them. It was not

so much the doubts exhibited as the unskillful, clumsy use made of them that the writer had in mind when the critique was written. If to properly deal with the question in hand one must father a hodgepodge of stale, long-since-exploded doubts, and give play to fancy and imagination, at the same time gravely labeling them "phenomena," then Dr. Willey has found the true method and has diligently used it.

The writer confesses to some disappointment on reading our good brother's note. The hope was indulged that there would be some further setting forth of the unique theory which made animal instinct and the human will synonymous, and also that there would be some suggestion as to how a knowledge of the divine personality can be "surrounded by much uncertainty." And it would have been interesting to know upon what principle of interpretation a part was substituted for the whole. But the writer forgets Dr. Willey was simply writing from the "standpoint of the doubter." One can but wonder, however, what is to be gained by attempting to rejuvenate the relics of past ages. His purpose may have been very honest, but it does not seem to have been very wise.

A single quotation from his reply will suffice: "It is refreshing, for instance, to hear again the venerable statement that sin is the cause of death and all disorders." The critique contained no such statement. It is surprising that so learned a man as our good brother should conclude that the passage quoted from the Epistle to the Romans had reference to universal natural death. And though a catechumen may not presume to instruct a rabbi, yet there are exceptions to all rules, and the present would seem a case in point. Sin was not the cause of death in a universal sense. But there are a goodly number of modern critics, among whom are Bishop Foster, Joseph Agar Beet, Dr. M. S. Terry, Lyman Abbott, Dr. James Strong, and others, who aver that the passage quoted teaches that, so far as man is concerned, sin did bring death. To be sure, these scholars have not enjoyed as ample opportunities for biological research as our good brother, but their opinion is entitled to some consideration. Yet what a pity that neither Paul nor they knew of the "Ariadne clew back to the 'isolated cells' of Maupas!" What light such knowledge would have shed on the problem, and how much superior the solution they could have furnished!

And, finally, if the ruin and havoc, the "misrule" and "heartbreaking" experiences that vex humanity are not traceable to sin as their cause, but are to be explained by the biologist and the "Ariadne clew," then revelation and theology must stand aside to make room for a very fragile substitute. And whether our good brother writes from the "standpoint of a doubter" or in a vein of ill-concealed irony, he needs to be reminded that "a little learning is a dangerous thing;" that imagination is not argument, and that phrases borrowed from the appendix of the dictionary are not an evidence of scholarship.

ROBERT WATT.

Wilmington, Del.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

RESULTANTS OF THE MINISTER'S VACATION.

EVERYBODY takes a vacation. The people of all professions, indeed, of all trades and all occupations, whether involving mental or physical toil, seem to demand a change. The employer and the employed alike recognize the benefit to be derived from a period of rest. Vacation time may be days, weeks, and sometimes months. Perhaps the average of the minister's vacation is fully equal to, if not greater than, that which is enjoyed by the members of other professions. It is taken sometimes by the seashore, sometimes in the mountains, sometimes in a foreign tour. It is the recognized period of rest from the cares and burdens of active ministerial duty.

Perhaps men engaged in active business have the least opportunity for vacations. Great commercial interests, owing to the changes of financial conditions constantly arising, demand a watchfulness almost unceasing, and such men are often compelled to take their outings in localities easy of access to their work. In fact, some of them do not think it possible to take any vacation at all. They simply go into the country for the night or to spend the Sabbath, and often wonder why ministers should have vacations when they themselves are not able to secure them. Others complain that the churches are left alone and that it is difficult to have funerals attended and other duties performed during the months of July and August. A few years ago a merchant of great prominence spoke to the writer almost sarcastically on the custom of ministerial vacations. He was a great and good man, abounding in works of benevolence and in no way disposed to deprive anyone of a proper opportunity for rest, but he regarded ministerial vacations as excessive and unnecessary.

The subject is important enough for a more detailed consideration. Granting that ministers as a rule take more extended rest than members of other professions—an admission which investigation might show not to be correct—we may inquire whether there is any special reason for such vacations, or whether they are sought as a mere matter of choice and in a desire for recreation. There is this to be said in favor of outings for the minister which is too often overlooked—the nature of their work puts a nervous pressure upon them which really belongs to few other callings. The ordinary pursuit requires of the worker devotion to some particular line of labor to which he comes from day to day with almost uniform repetition. The work of one day differs so little from that of another that the chief weariness grows out of the monotony, rather than out of the toil itself. Then, too, he serves one particular firm, or corporation, or individual whose desires he knows, and in giving

them satisfaction and in doing his work well he has met his responsibility. The minister, on the other hand, serves a congregation generally of hundreds and sometimes reaching up into the thousands. He is not the servant of one but of many. All of these have a right to complain, and at least are not unwilling to express disapproval, often on very slight grounds. He is always in the blaze of the public eye, and is never free from public inspection. It is easy for the onlooker to say he should be so far above the mere desire of popular approval that he should go on his way unembarrassed and unworried by these conditions. But few who think of it will hesitate to say that such a condition of things would require a person absolutely without nerves and, by his very impassiveness, unfitted to render successful service in the ministry. A real minister is not a wooden man or an iron man. It would not be creditable to say of him, as it is generally said of Bismarck, that he was a man of "blood and iron." On the other hand, the preacher's very power to serve consists in his being a man of heart and nerve and sympathy, and in his capacity to feel the changes in men's moods and to be touched with the infirmities by which he is surrounded. This condition of things becomes a constant wear which no one can appreciate except the one who has passed through it. More than this, the minister's work from month to month is not alike. The variations in the conditions of communities are almost constant. The preparation for one will not answer for the next. His fundamental themes are the same; the doctrines he annunciates do not change; but the application of truth, if he be a wise minister, is ever variant. Hence the intellectual, as well as the spiritual, wear is constant, and nature, at last overtaxed by the severity of the exaction made upon her, cries aloud for rest.

It is to be noted further the labors connected with the other callings are more evenly distributed and hence less liable to wear out the powers than in the ministry. The labors of the business man come day after day, and his anxieties are distributed during the week. While at times the pressure is of course heavy, occasionally very heavy, yet there is an evenness about it that makes the wear less. The same amount of force and energy expended regularly every day and distributed more evenly throughout the several days is less exhausting than when the same amount of energy is concentrated on a single point of time, or within a few hours. The demand upon the minister for funeral services is very exhausting to the energies. These with city pastors come many times a month, and the nervous wear is very great. The required preparation for sermons can be more evenly distributed by the orderly employment of time, but even then, when the critical hour for preparing a sermon arrives, the preacher must summon all his powers and every resource possible to him in order fitly to recognize and impress the great truth which he is attempting to enforce. Then, on the Sabbath for three quarters of an hour, perhaps, both morning and evening, all his resources are brought into service, and he concentrates in one or two

services an exhaustion of nerve force unappreciated even by himself. The same amount of force distributed day after day would do no harm, but the concentration of energies is often extremely destructive of vital force. We must not forget that the lawyer in a difficult case and the doctor with a dangerous patient are under equal nervous strain, but with them such a tension does not come in inevitable round week after week and month after month. So that, when we combine the two—the light of publicity and the exhaustiveness of special labors—we have a reason for rest scarcely found in the other professions.

Then, too, it may be noticed that all professions require time for mental and physical recuperation. Just as the body needs sleep, so the intellectual nature of man requires longer periods in which he shall simply exist, so to speak, and allow the tired and wearied powers to regain their energies. A change of scene from city to country or from mountain to the seashore or from one country to another revives the wearied powers, and one comes back to his work a new man. He goes away discouraged and hopeless of the outcome for good in his work, but returns after a few weeks and everything has a new look. He feels that something can be done, and he goes at it with zeal and vigor, and once more goes his rounds until again nature demands its repose.

To sum up, then, the resultants of a minister's vacation are new energies for himself. He is capable of doing more, much more, during the year than he would be if the entire year were devoted to labor and no part of it given to rest. His thinking will be more healthful, his whole bearing more cheerful, and his influence more ennobling when he comes to his work as a rested man. It is the work of a freeman, differing from the work of a slave. We have all felt the impress of a robust, open, inspiring nature. We have all felt the depressing influence of contact with one, especially as a teacher, who is wearied and depressed. A church could find no better remedy for its lassitude and its weakness than to send their minister from home for one or two months, and thus give him new life and energy to lead the hosts of God.

EMPHASIS IN PREACHING.

The reference in the word "emphasis," in this connection, is not to the prominent word or sentence in the delivery of a discourse, but rather to the substance of thought in the sermon. The command to preach the Gospel does not mean to preach one aspect of truth, but to present the word in its fullness, including doctrine and ethics. It involves, not only the proclamation of general principles of action, but also of specific duties. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." A study of the Pauline writings will show how fully the apostle put in practice his own teachings. The

minutest duties are enjoined, and often he censures what to many would seem to be trivial offenses. There is scarcely a single virtue he does not commend, or a single wrong against which he does not utter warning. The fullness and breadth of his teaching are manifest.

He gives to all Christian topics, however, their due order and importance. He would lay greater stress on fundamental or root thoughts, and would group all other ideas around them. A study of Pauline theology will indicate that the emphasis of the apostle's teaching involved three things, namely, the atonement in Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection of the dead. It is not true that they constantly appear in the form of concrete or even of isolated statement. Paul was not a modern theologian, stating his topic, treating it exhaustively from every point of view, and then passing to the next related topic; but he is rather, even in his elaborate writings, an impassioned orator with a definite purpose, whose doctrines are the background, or rather the web, in which all his great teachings are woven. In the Epistle to the Romans we have his method in the formal discussion of a subject. His doctrine of justification by faith is discussed with elaborateness, and one is conscious at every point that the fundamental doctrines are those on which he lays emphasis. The idea of the emphasis on the same points is interwoven with Paul's more practical epistles. The Corinthians and the Pastoral Epistles show that even here the apostle never loses sight of them. They tinge his exhortations, his reproof, his consolations.

This doctrine of emphasis is very important for the weekly message of the preacher of the Gospel. His range is the whole realm of doctrine and of duty. He must not be narrow in his grasp of truth, or in its presentation. He must intermeddle with all Christian truth, and nothing which can be helpful to his people within the range of the Gospel must be foreign to his thought or to his utterances. He will be unwise, however, if he forgets the great law of emphasis on fundamentals. Again and again he must come to the great truths of Pauline theology—the atonement, the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection. The emphasis on these fundamentals need not be in the way of formal discussion. The minister need not preach a special sermon frequently on these topics. He should emphasize them as Paul did by making them the background and center of all his teachings. He should be so filled by them, that they unconsciously tinge his thinking and his expression.

It will further appear that the emphasis in preaching should be laid upon these great doctrines, if we remember that it is on these that preachers always put stress in times of special religious interest. The uniform prayer of the Church when seeking a revival of God's work is for the Holy Spirit, and the great appeal to men is that Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man. There are times, also, when special emphasis must be laid upon the incarnation and other fundamental truths. It is a part of the wisdom of the preacher to lay such proper stress upon the great teachings of the word of God.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE UNITED STATES AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE influence of the United States, not only in politics and commerce, but also as the champion of humanitarian principles and advanced learning, is becoming more and more felt all over the civilized world. Its ships are finding their way into all important ports; its scholars travel in every land; its philanthropists and missionaries may be met everywhere. Many of the finest private libraries of Europe have of late years been transferred to America. The large museums of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities are rapidly accumulating fine collections of the rarest and most ancient specimens from the ruins and buried cities of Asia and northern Africa. Our archæologists stand shoulder to shoulder with those of other nations, and have already taken up their work of excavation and exploration with the zeal and zest characteristic of American enterprise.

The excellent work of Dr. Edward Robinson in Palestine and the surrounding lands, though done more than fifty years ago, is still fresh in the mind of every advanced biblical scholar, not only in the United States, but also in all Protestant lands. The more recent excavations of Bliss at Tel-el-Hesy and Jerusalem are too well known to need anything more than a mere mention. Thousands of dollars are spent every year by American scholars to promote the work carried on by their English brethren under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund—with which Dr. Bliss has been so intimately connected—the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the Archæological Survey of Egypt, to say nothing of the work done in Greece and Asia Minor by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

The greatest work of the United States in the field of archæology, however, is that accomplished under the direction of the University of Pennsylvania in Babylonia. The success of the expedition sent out by this institution has been very remarkable in its nature and extent, not only equaling the discoveries of Layard, Loftus, De Sarzec, and others, but surpassing all these in their importance to the student of ancient history. The objects discovered at Nippur are very ancient, and carry us back step by step from the twelfth century of our era to what used to be regarded as the prehistoric ages. The value of these inscribed objects are incalculable to the student of biblical archæology. If Professor Peters is to be trusted these discoveries have shown us that men in a high state of civilization, building cities, organizing States, conducting expeditions for conquest, ruling wide extended countries, and trafficking with remote lands existed in Babylonia two thousand years before the period assigned by Archbishop Ussher's chronology for the creation of the world.

The origin of the expedition to Nippur dates back to the year 1884, when the American Oriental Society met in New Haven, Conn., and it was proposed to raise at least $4,500 for explorations in some portions of ancient Babylonia. The late Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, of New York, subscribed the entire amount and $500 more for contingent expenses. Dr. William Hayes Ward, of *The Independent*, was appointed director; and with this great archæologist were associated Professor Sterrett, Dr. Haynes, and an Armenian, Moorian by name, to act as interpreter. In the very nature of the case this first expedition, sent out in 1885, was more for "exploration and reconnoissance" than for excavation, and yet it resulted in locating the future work at Nippur. Soon after the return of Dr. Ward in 1886 Professor Peters, at that time of the University of Pennsylvania, succeeded in interesting some public-spirited gentlemen of Philadelphia in Babylonian archæology. A sufficient sum was soon subscribed—which has since grown to $70,000—to send out the first campaign of the first expedition (1888-90). The party consisted of Professors Peters, Hilprecht, and Harper, and Messrs. Field, Prince, Haynes, and the Armenian, Moorian. These, after a long and wearisome journey, preceded by much diplomacy and toilsome negotiations with the Ottoman government, succeeded in reaching Nippur about the end of January, 1888.

Nippur, spelled also "Niffer," "Nuffar," and "Nufar," is situated about one hundred miles south of southeast of Bagdad and some fifty miles southeast of Babylon, nearly halfway between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Nothing is now left of this once important city except a few mounds, surrounded with swamps and marshes full of fever and malaria. The highest of these mounds, called by the Arabs "Bint-el-Amir," that is, "The emir or prince's daughter," is about seventy-eight feet high. The almost conical shape of Bint-el-Amir led the explorers at once to conclude that it was the site of a *ziggurat*, or stage tower, and so it proved to be. For here was located the great temple of Bel, built by Ur-Gur about 2800 B. C. It was known from inscribed bricks discovered by Loftus nearly fifty years ago that Ur-Gau had built a temple at Nippur. At this level, under an immense platform of unbaked bricks, were unearthed the foundation of another large building. The huge bricks found in these foundations, having upon them the name of Sargon and of his son Narani-Sin, prove that the edifice was erected at least one thousand years earlier than the temple of Ur-Gur, or about 3800 B. C. A little to the northwest of this structure was found a solid brick wall with an average thickness of fifty-two feet. This solid piece of masonry served here, as in other cities of Babylonia, a two-fold purpose, that of a rampart and of a roadway around the city. To the southeast of the temple a large room was found thirty-seven feet by twelve and about eight feet high. As no trace of a door could be seen in any of the four walls it is reasonable to conclude that it was entered from above. Another room, evidently used for the same purpose as the

one above it, was found directly below. These rooms, according to Mr. Haynes, must have been the archive chambers containing the sacred documents and treasure belonging to the temples. Unfortunately, however, both of these rooms had been broken into, probably during the great Elamite invasion, about 2285 B. C., and robbed of all that was valuable. The monuments bear abundant testimony to the rapacity of these Elamite invaders. Ashurbanipal tells how Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam, more than sixteen hundred years before his time, or about 2294 B. C., sacked and pillaged the temples of Akkad, even carrying away the images of the gods. The Bible student will be interested to know that it was during these Elamite wars that Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees, and that some of the kings who participated in them are mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis.

But to return to the temple of Sargon. Although its ruins were laid bare some thirty-five feet below the surface of the mound, yet it was built on a pile of ruins and accumulation of débris about thirty-one feet high from the solid earth—ruins with evidence of two more temples. It was customary to regard Sargon as a mythical creation, a mere name, a poetical invention, without any real existence. When, however, tablets describing his work and empire and a large number of inscriptions bearing his name were found in the ruins of Babylonia, he came to be regarded as a real personage. The fact that his temple stood on a mass of débris thirty feet or more above the virgin soil makes it clear that he was not the founder of empire in Nippur, but rather the successor of a very long line of rulers. His rule extended far and wide, according to the Assyriologists, over Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Elam, Cyprus, Palestine, northern Arabia, and the Sinaitic peninsula. No wonder that Professor Peters, in speaking of his scientific, administrative, and literary abilities, says: "He may fairly be called the Charlemagne of Babylonian history, since he played for science, literature, and organization in Babylonia much the same part which the great Charles did four thousand six hundred years later in western Europe."

It was a great thing to recover tablets and door sockets constructed and inscribed in Sargon's time, but when we are told that in a pile of ruins thirteen feet below the temple of this mighty monarch written records have been discovered during the past two or three years, which must have antedated his reign by many centuries, we cease to wonder at the Assyriologists speaking of 6,000 or 7,000 years B. C. Among the objects discovered in the lowest stratum of Nippur ruins was an altar rudely built of sun-dried bricks, and not far from it two decorated terra-cotta vases of immense size, which were probably used by the priests for ablutionary purposes. It was above this altar that an arch constructed of brick was brought to light. How long before the time of Sargon this keystone arch was built no one can say. But one thing is certain—people who built temples and altars, constructed keystone arches, and made use of ablutionary vessels in their worship were not barbarians.

The city of Nippur, with its great temple, must have exercised great influence over the religion of the ancient Babylonians, "An influence as potent as that of Jerusalem over our own." Those who worshiped at Nippur in those far-away ages were the "dominant people of the world at a period as much prior to the time of Abraham as the time of Abraham is prior to our day."

These modern revelations of the distant ages of the past prove conclusively that the world is not as young as many modern biblical critics were wont to assert a few years ago. The mighty men of valor and their extensive empires incidentally mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures were not myths but realities. The readers of the most ancient history as recorded in the clay libraries of Nippur, Telloh, and the neighboring cities will find but little difficulty in understanding the leadership and advanced statesmanship of Moses. The story of Sargon, with its incidents of extensive campaigns, warlike expeditions, and commercial relations between the remotest peoples, is of great value to the biblical critic. The mighty empires which flourished more than two thousand years before the great Hebrew legislator was born, the magnificent temples and *ziggurats* built millenniums before thet abernacle in the wilderness make it manifest that the story of Israel as told in the Pentateuch, with its many-sided legislation and history, need not be treated as the invention of some pious priest of the exile or Maccabæan period. The forty thousand tablets of all descriptions, including contracts, interest-bearing notes, leases, deeds of transfer, reports from various officials, receipts and bills of sale discovered in the mounds of Nippur, many of them antedating the time of Abraham, will give a severe shock to the self-confidence of the destructive critic, who but only few years ago saw very clearly in the instrument drawn up between the Hittites and Abraham, whereby Macpelah was conveyed to the latter, evidence of anachronism and sure proof of later authorship. Wellhausen and his followers will do well to study a few of these very ancient business contracts now found in all our best museums. We may never find the original deed given to Abraham, but contracts written during his lifetime are now found in the British Museum. We also possess one bilingual tablet, Akkadian and Assyrian. Many scholars believe Akkadian to have been a dead language in the time of Moses. If this be so, then "the age of this original document must be considerably earlier than that of the first composition of the Pentateuch."

We shall await with interest for the translation of the tablets and documents found by the Pennsylvania expedition in Babylonia, and greatly rejoice that so scholarly a man as Professor Hilprecht has undertaken this great task. The public will also be gratified to know that Professor Hilprecht is now in Constantinople making arrangements with the Turkish government for a new firman to enable him to resume the work of excavation so successfully commenced by himself, Professor Peters, and especially Haynes, among the ruins of Nippur.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

A GIANT AWAKING.

Oversmart journalists are busy dividing the skin of the Empire of China not yet dead. Even a Chinese journalist in the new Chinese magazine, *Chih-Sin-Pao*, takes a hand in this savage surgery. He gives to Russia Korea, Shen-si, and Shan-si; to Germany, Shantung and Honan; to France, Hunan, Kwang-si, Kwang-tong, Hainan, and Annam; to Japan, Formosa and Foh-kien; to the Moslems, Kan-su; and leaves to independent princes, Sze-chuen, Kwei-chow, and Yunnan, while Mongolia takes what is left.

There are two causes patent enough to account for this sort of speculation. First, there is the corruption of the official classes of China; the self-conceit, amazing ignorance, and exclusiveness of its scholars; and the materialism and sensuality of the great mass of the millions of the population. Much of these must be got quit of, or China must go to pieces, without the assault of western civilization upon her century-plated immobility. The second cause prominently in evidence is that the western world has discovered enormous possibilities of trade in the empire for which they are hawkishly waiting a chance to get at, but which trade has hitherto only been accessible by force or threats. Hence not only a tendency but a more than half acquired habit is manifest which if not checked must inevitably lead to the dismemberment of the empire or the Chinese punishment of being cut up into small pieces. If the Chinese shall adopt a liberal policy by throwing the whole country open to each and every of these foreign powers the latter may be content with the commercial supremacy gained, leaving political affairs in the hands of the Chinese themselves. China will thus have recognition in comity of nations. Whichever way this beam is kicked there is no doubt that China is at the beginning of great changes which will have stupendous issues.

There are, we are pleased to note, many indications of a disposition on the part of China's leaders, rapidly becoming national, to make radical readjustments of their conditions. There is, at least to a degree never hitherto discerned, a desire to acquire some knowledge of Western science. Even the examination halls of Changsha, the capital of the most violently antiforeign province, Hunan, were last September lighted by electricity. Schools have been begun in each State by imperial decree for the study of the English language, mathematics, and the sciences. Coincident with these new movements is the entrance of missionary workers into Honan. No country in the world, no part of any country in the world, has been as completely barred against the evangelist as Hunan. This province was the source of the vile placards against Christians which were scattered over all the Yangtsi valley by the secret societies and the

pensioned vagabond soldiers, and which were sold at government book stalls. It was the boast of this province that no Christian could put his foot into it except at peril of his life. But even here the missionary has access and has gone in to stay. Two years ago the Presbyterian Mission was driven out, but during the past year no less than seven different centers of missionary operations have been established by the Presbyterians, the China Inland, the Christian Alliance, and the Protestant Episcopal missionary societies. The emperor of China has declared Yo-chou in this province an open treaty port, and therefore any and all of these or other missionary societies can conduct their usual operations in this province.

There is little doubt that the action of Germany in taking Kiaochow furnishes a significant object lesson to antiforeign officialdom in China. This is not so much to be emphasized because three hundred German soldiers marched into the interior and captured a walled town of thirty thousand inhabitants, but rather that in obedience to the demand of this "foreign devil" the governor of Shantung province was deposed, never to be officially employed in any part of the government, because he had not only opposed the imperial edict for opening schools of Western learning, but had also connived at the disgraceful assault on a Roman Catholic bishop. What new element is this that dictates its administrative measures to the emperor himself? But now we have the most significant measure yet presented for our consideration, except the establishment of great government schools of Western learning. The government is about to throw open all the canals of the empire to foreign vessels. "Imagine," says the American consul at Chefu, "every railroad in America removed and a canal substituted, and one will form some idea of the magnitude of the system in this vast empire."

We have left ourselves no room to show the concomitant changes in the attitude of the Chinese toward Christianity. Every great missionary center is stirred with the marvelous tendency to accept Christianity by thousands on thousands of people since the China-Japan war. The new government colleges in the several provinces can only find teachers among the graduates of mission schools, and have invited missionaries to their headship. It does not follow that these schools are Christian schools; so far from it, there is an attempt to engraft Confucianism by placing Confucian tablets in them to make the impression that they are indigenous religiously and thoroughly national. That may be necessary in order to keep the people from violent resistance to them, but it seems to make native Christians and even missionary head masters part of a Confucian educational scheme. This has the face of compromise, but an enlightening and Christianizing education must at last undermine these erroneous Confucian elements. The Chinese cannot help themselves for the present. They may follow Japan and displace these foreign teachers later on, or they may swing into religious infidelity, but they must swing back again to some religion, and it cannot be their old one.

SOME PHASES OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

Some time ago the governor of Sierra Leone made a tour in the interior of the colony, with a view to considering improvements which might be made for the benefit of the natives. To raise the money for these improvements it was decided to levy a tax of five shillings annually on every hut, or about a shilling per head, and a tax on dealers in spirituous liquors. This was the first and the only tax that the British authorities have ever imposed upon the natives of this region. Whether this was the occasion of the discontent and insurrection which followed has not yet been established. The governor, Sir Frederick Cardew, appears to have decided on recommending such a tax, after a good deal of cautious consultation with important chiefs, who gave him the assurance that there would be no resistance to it; and it is supposed that the most of this tax was collected before the revolt began. It has not been an unusual thing for the British government to levy such a tax in many of its colonies, and it has been found as a rule to work very well.

England has exercised jurisdiction over this region for a hundred years, and it scarcely seems possible that an annual tax of five shillings on every hut, or about a shilling per head, could have so suddenly angered the people into a savage war of rebellion. Other causes than that of the hut tax have been suggested for the insurrection, chief of which is that the originators of the uprising are the slavers who are protesting against the suppression of slavery which the government has been carrying out. But, whatever the reason, a number of white persons, including several missionaries, have been murdered.

What is more discouraging than the political aspect of the incident is the moral and social one. That after a hundred years these people should be found so little removed from their original savage habit of life is significant. Native uprisings still bear the same characteristics here as in the most heathen sections of the continent, and one can but wonder that so little has been accomplished in the past toward the improvement of the people. How far the conditions may have differed from those of the Congo Free State we do not know, but we do know that on the Congo, there has been a profitable commercial development, with far more than the usual peaceful conditions. We are told, for instance, that the total trade of the Congo the past year exceeds that of 1896 by nearly one third, and the revenues by one half, and that a further increasing trade is evident. Within twelve years the exports from this region have increased to nine times their former figures. Less than thirty years ago these Congo regions were absolutely unknown; and the advance in their Christianization and civilization may be illustrated by the single statement that a monthly magazine, *The Messenger of Peace*, has been for years printed on the Congo in the native language. Every number contains articles on health, natural history, arithmetic, geography, or astronomy, and this beginning of Congo literature was

made by the Swedish missionaries. What effort the authorities of the British colony of Sierra Leone, or, for that matter, the British Christians, have put forth for the civilization and conversion of these heathen in Sierra Leone does not seem to have brought forth any such satisfactory results as are patent under the Belgian rule on the Congo. The United Brethren, seven of whose missionaries were massacred, have done what they could. It does not follow, however, that their work has been a failure, even though one leader in the attack upon the missionaries is said to have been the son of a native chief educated in their schools.

MISSIONS AND COLONIZATION.

THERE is no chance to shut one's eyes to the relation of missions to the success of governmental colonizing schemes. A hundred years ago Great Britain held the traditional policy of all the nations, that colonies were only established for, and to be run in, the interests of the home land. The East India Company through all its administration had but one thought, namely, how to get the most out of India. The result was the mutiny of the Sepoys. Meanwhile the appeals of Christians to aid missionary work for the upbuilding of the natives of the several colonies educated Christian people into a beneficent humanitarianism which could not be limited to religious societies alone. If it was good for missionaries to seek the elevation of the people for the people's sake it must be good for governments to do the same. The distinctive change of policy of British administration in the colonies must be attributed to the missionary movements of the century. By contrast Spain has till now followed the traditional policy of administering colonial governments "for revenue only," and the peace, prosperity, and purity of the people indigenous to the territory occupied has had no consideration. She would have all that could be ground out of the people by oppression, with the usual result that "the devil's wheat turns to bran."

The change of national policy, from the old to the only policy fit to survive, is merely the extension of the missionary spirit to national administration; and in so far as the United States is seeking the freedom and prosperity of Cuba it is another application of the same missionary motive force. Even in religious matters Spain has followed the opposite and selfish policy. Cuban priests have not been elevated to positions of eminence in the Church, save in one or two instances. These are reserved for the Spaniards. This, we are assured by no less an authority than the Roman Catholic *Freeman's Journal* of New York, has been one of the causes of the chronic discontent of the Cubans, resulting in armed resistance to Spanish tyranny.

We are quite confident that if, by the direction of divine Providence, the United States adopts any policy of foreign colonization it will be found, as Dr. George Smith of Edinburgh has said of this country in the past, that the "foreign policy of the United States is foreign missions."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Emil Kautzsch. As an Old Testament scholar Kautzsch is probably best known to the majority of the educated public by his translation of the Old Testament into German. His work is designed to be, not only an accurate translation, but an aid to the reader in determining to what particular source each portion of the books of the Old Testament is traced by modern critics. This is accomplished by the printing of the appropriate letters—as P, J, E, etc.—on the margin of the text. Kautzsch had a variety of assistants in this work of translation, but reserved the right to change any translation offered by his colaborers, both as to form and substance. The result is that the translation affords the results of many minds, yet preserves its unity throughout. Perhaps it would, however, have been an advantage had he given us in each case translations which he rejected, that we might have compared them with those he adopted. But one of the chief advantages which this translation offers is found in its appendices. These contain the text, critical comments, a register of Scripture proper names, tables of weights and measures with Old Testament methods of reckoning of time, and a history of the peoples and documents of the Old Testament. The history of the peoples Kautzsch has arranged in columns in such a manner that the reader can compare nation with nation. The first column is given to the earlier Israelites; two columns are devoted to them after the division of the kingdom; and two more columns are given to the contemporaneous history of the Assyrian-Babylonian kingdom, to Egypt, etc. But the chronological tables thus given are based on supposedly critical results. For example, the patriarchs are omitted. The history of the Old Testament literature is also a valuable compend of the critical views as to the origin of the various books. Altogether we do not know of any scholar who has done so much as Kautzsch to bring within the reach of the man of average intelligence who is acquainted with the German the results of modern critical Bible study. Most scholars write for scholars. Kautzsch, while doing his work in a thoroughly scholarly manner, has condensed and arranged it in such a way that with a few exceptions the ordinarily intelligent man can get the latest results of Old Testament investigation and much of the method and force of that investigation itself. Recently Kautzsch has published these appendices in a small separate volume, and by this issue brings them within the reach of many readers who would not care for the Bible translation itself. The work is entitled *Abriss der Geschichte des Alt-testamentlichen Schrifttums* (Sketch of the History of the Old Testament Literary Activity). Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1897.

G. Stosch. Perhaps it is too much to say that this student is a leader of thought, though he is the representative of a class, having, however, his individual peculiarities. He has recently published a couple of works entitled *Alt-testamentliche Studien* (Old Testament Studies, Gütersloh, Butelsmann), the first of which has to do with the origin of Genesis and the second with Moses and the documents of the Exodus. Stosch does not regard Genesis as a unitary work, but as combined by a redactor of about twelve earlier documents. The redactor was Moses himself, whose name is a sufficient guarantee of the trustworthiness of the contents. The original documents used by Moses were themselves reliable, being composed by eyewitnesses of the facts. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph wrote their own autobiographies, which we have in Genesis. Writing was as old as the human race, and even Adam noted down facts which were employed by Moses, as also did Methuselah, Noah, Shem, and Peleg. Melchizedek wrote the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, which he dedicated to Abraham. Through this incident that chapter came to be regarded as the work of Abraham, from which, however, it can be distinguished by considerable differences of style. These old documents were handed down from one generation to another, and were finally buried with Joseph, in whose sarcophagus Moses discovered them, using them as the basis of Genesis. In treating of Moses and the documents of the Exodus Stosch gives us his ideas of the Scripture, finding types and prophecies everywhere. He sees in Exod. xxxviii, 26, a reference to Golgotha. He thinks that Moses wrote the first draft of the Book of Job when he was with Reguel in the wilderness. He argues that the Book of Exodus must have been written by Moses, since it is evidently the work of one who experienced the things described. Thus, no one could have spoken of Moses as having driven his sheep behind the desert except one who had personal acquaintance with the territory southward from Sinai, and as Moses probably had such an acquaintance he must have written the book. Now, it is in harmony with freedom of thought for Stosch or any other man who wishes to make these or other hypotheses relative to the origin of Genesis and Exodus. But what we oppose is the subjectivity of the method by which Stosch sustains his theories. Anyone of the slightest ingenuity can trace out combinations and similarities of the most remarkable kind. But it is another thing to make others feel that these views have any substantial foundation. It is particularly out of place for one to follow this method who, like Stosch, has nothing but condemnation for the subjectivity of those critics that deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Erster Band: Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenäus. Nebst Einlitenden Untersuchungen (The Chronology of the Early Christian Literature to the

Time of Eusebius. First Volume: The Chronology of the Literature to the Time of Irenæus, together with Introductory Investigations). By Adolph Harnack. Leipzig, J. C. Heinrichssche Buchhandlung, 1897. This immense volume of 748 pages is the first of two which are to constitute the second part of a monumental work by Professor Harnack on the early literature of Christianity. The whole work will consist of three parts. The first part has already appeared in one volume. The number of volumes needful for the third part is not stated—perhaps not determined. When completed it will be invaluable to the student of early Christianity. One of the most interesting features of this volume is its revision of certain dates to which we are accustomed. For example, Harnack places the conversion of Paul in the year 30, holds that in 42 (or 41) the twelve apostles left Jerusalem, and estimates that the apostolic council at Jerusalem was held in 47 (or 46). As a result he sets a correspondingly earlier date for all the epistles of Paul. One of the consequences of the critical method of treating the New Testament, namely, that its documents must be regarded as a part of the early literature of the Church, is here carried into effect. For the majority of readers the most striking things in the book are to be found in the Preface. For example, Harnack says that there was a time—and the great public does not know but what it still is—when it was supposed necessary to treat the earliest Christian literature, including the New Testament, as a mass of deceptions and forgeries. That time is past. For scholarship it was an episode in which much was learned that must now be forgotten. The oldest Christian literature is, in the main points, as in its details, truthful and trustworthy. Harnack declares that the criticism of the New Testament is going back toward the traditional view, and that the judgment of the next few years will show a still more marked tendency in that direction. Of course, all this touches chiefly the dates of the documents, but it has to do with their trustworthiness also. Still, it would be a mistake to suppose that Harnack has gone back, or that he thinks theologians generally will go back, to the traditional idea of inspiration. What Harnack thinks is that an historical document can be trustworthy without inspiration; and he sees no special sign of inspiration in the verbal sense, or in that sense which implies absolute freedom from error in the books of the New Testament. Another thing of which he says nothing is the course of the theological thought with reference to the Old Testament—although we might suspect from analogy that it too in progress of time will return toward, if not to, tradition.

Jesus de Nazareth. Études critiques sur les antecedents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jesus. 2 tomes. Avec une carte (Jesus of Nazareth. Critical Studies on the Antecedents of the Evangelical History and the Life of Jesus. Two Volumes. With a Map). By Professor A. Réville. Paris, Fischbacher, 1897. This is not a life of Jesus,

but studies of his life. In fact, this is really all that one can offer concerning our Lord. It is evident that a biography in the ordinary significance of that word cannot be written of one for the earlier portion of whose life we have almost no sources. Besides, while to the average reader the earthly career of our Lord seems perfectly plain, to the profoundest student the gravest difficulties are presented. There is so much in the history and portraiture of Jesus as given in our gospels for which we have no analogy in the lives of others that it is impossible to apply to him any of the usual measures by which life is estimated. Consequently many have preferred to study Jesus rather than to write a life of him. Réville is well prepared for his work by natural gifts and by previous theological investigations. Besides, he is not afraid to rely upon the work of his predecessors. For example, for what he has to say on the earlier periods of Jewish history he depends upon Kuenen, while for the Jewish situation contemporary with the time of Jesus he relies upon Schürer. In fact, he is to be praised for this, since no man can work out for himself all the branches of learning now required for the critical study of our Lord's life. He is not as full as could be desired on such points as the kingdom of God as taught by Christ, the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, the eschatology of Jesus, etc. But in fact each of these subjects now requires that one should have spent a reasonable lifetime before he is entitled to speak concerning them. At present, for instance, the Last Supper is the subject of so extensive a literature that only a courageous heart would dare appear in the field with an independent opinion. Réville regards the assumption of the Messianic dignity and purpose as a degradation from the pure spiritual religion of love to God and man. But he forgets that it was just this Messianic work which was intended to bring in the religion of love. It was a lower task just as the means are always lower than the end. Réville also holds that the idea of the second advent of the Messiah in clouds and great glory was not the teaching of Jesus, but a fantasy of the disciples. What Jesus taught was the final victory of his Gospel. Notwithstanding all this Réville is not only not a rationalist, except in the popular and incorrect meaning of the word, but he is strongly opposed to the rationalistic method of dealing with the life of Christ. It is really refreshing to find an occasional work in the French so well worthy of notice in these pages.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Swiss and German Christian Student Conference. The word "Christian" has a somewhat different significance throughout continental Europe from that which attaches to it in this country. There it signifies anyone who is not an adherent of a non-Christian form of faith. Hence, when students form associations to which they apply the epithet "Christian," the procedure arouses very much the same feelings which the ap-

propriation of the name by a single denomination of Christians awakens. It will be a real blessing when the word shall come to mean everywhere one who believes in Christ and his teaching, and who by the power of Christ controls his inner and outer life. This the Christian student movement, which has spread from this country, is likely to bring about. Very certain it is that it is no longer a reproach to hold Christian views of the world. The best thinkers are coming to see that none of the "isms" offered as an explanation of the facts of the world and of life fulfill their purpose, and Christianity is making slow but sure progress among the more thoughtful classes. It is almost to be feared that the next fad will be the extension of Christian thought among foreign university students. However that may be, the Swiss and German students have held their first Christian Students' Conference. There were present about fifty persons, of whom but seventeen were students of theology, the remainder being students of medicine, law, or philosophy. One of the questions which came up for discussion was whether a Darwinist can be a Christian. This is as variously answered in Europe as it is in this country. The principal speaker took the position that if by Darwinism we understand an atheistic view of the world we must answer in the negative; but that if by Darwinism is meant merely a theory of development prevalent among natural scientists we may answer affirmatively, especially if the animal origin of man be denied. The speaker also called attention to the fact that the Darwinian theories no longer correspond exactly to the latest opinions which are less inimical to Christianity. Another subject of importance was hindrances to faith, among which were mentioned utilitarianism and intellectualism, love of novelty, of freedom, and of pleasure. As aids to faith were recommended Bible reading, prayer, regard for the masses, and association with true believers. These advices seem very elementary; and yet where are the youth of any land who do not need to be constantly reminded of them? If by these or other means the spirit of genuine Christianity could be breathed into the student life of the Old World a new era would dawn for the faith.

The Sociological Problem and the Prussian General Synod. We have before called attention to the changed attitude of many of the leaders of the Prussian State Church with reference to Christian socialism. At the last meeting of the General Synod this change became still more evident. Stöcker and all who think with him have evidently lost their grip on things. The authorities in the Church have even gone so far as to deprive the clergy of the right to judge for themselves how far they shall participate in socialistic movements. Some of the utterances of the officials of the Church are quite laughable. Superintendent Poetter was alarmed because a licentiate had heard a university lecture on "Money and Credit," and hoped the thing would never happen again. As one of his critics says, he has no complaint to make of those

who attend German drinking bouts and spend their money for liquor. Under the pretense of regulating the activities of the future candidates for the ministry the Church authorities have undertaken to prevent them from studying political economy. This is looked upon as a restraint upon the freedom of the individual Christian, who, if he does all his ordinary duties, ought to be allowed the privilege of pursuing such studies as he pleases. It looks to us at this distance as though with all their profundity of scholarship the German clergy lack good common sense. They trouble themselves about the small matters and ignore the weighty concerns of life. Still, we doubt not that the Christian socialists went to excesses which led to the placing of the present inconvenient restrictions upon them.

The Ninth Evangelical Social Congress. In the midst of much discouragement this Congress met in Berlin, June 1–3, to discover that the disfavor it had experienced at the hands of the government was somewhat removed. The attendance was not so great as could have been desired; but this, it was explained, was due to accidental circumstances, as, for instance, the coming elections. Among the themes discussed was "The Social Views of Luther," in which the relations of the great reformer to the Peasant War were set forth in such a light as to disarm the criticism of the Social Democrats. The paper which excited the greatest interest, however, both by way of anticipation and in the reception accorded it, was that by Dr. Rade, editor of *Die Christliche Welt*, on the religious and ethical position of the laboring classes among the Social Democrats. Dr. Rade had secured expressions from a large number of these people themselves, and his paper was based thereon. Professor Paulsen, summing up the contents, says the utterances of these laboring men show them to hold the naturalistic, as distinguished from the religious, view of the world, and indicate that they place decided emphasis on this life as distinguished from the next. Jesus himself, and even the Bible, they appeared to honor, but not as portrayed in the catechism and in works of theology. For the most part they expressed but little regard for Luther. Although all who followed Rade in the discussion took his view of the situation, which was on the whole that the laboring classes are not unfavorable to the essentials of Christianity, it is asserted that upon more mature reflection many felt that Rade had received his information from but one wing of the Social Democracy, and that as a class they disdain Jesus, and are withheld from the expression of their feeling only by fear of the law, while they are very far in practice from the law of love as set forth by our Lord. Paulsen thinks that at least the laboring classes by these expressions prove themselves superior in morals to those of France, and is also of the judgment that all in all the German socialists are filled with a spirit which is honorable to citizens of the Fatherland. We are unable to decide between the two opinions.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE poet of Avon is immortal. Another evidence of his enduring influence and his lasting fame is suggested by Edmund Gosse's article on "Shakespeare in 1898," which is published in the *North American Review* for August. The particular occasion for this paper is the recent issue of certain works by new Shakespearians on the life and writings of the great bard. Thus Mr. Sidney Lee has published a "remarkable biographical monograph" in which "he has resumed in a perfectly sober and logical survey the facts about Shakespeare's life as they lie scattered over a thousand diverse sources." Dr. Georg Brandes, who, except for French specialists, is "the most eminent foreign critic alive," has published simultaneously in Danish and in German a study of the poet which has been translated into English under the direction of William Archer. "For foreign readers the great thing is to distinguish Shakespeare from the group, to stand so far away as practically to see nothing definitely but Shakespeare. This is a work which demanded a foreign critic, and where Dr. Brandes has been so happy is in the exact vision he has been able to reproduce of an isolated Shakespeake lifted, as an English commentator nowadays scarcely dares to lift him, so high above his contemporaries that they scarcely count." Mr. George Wyndham, who but a year or two since attracted notice by his editorship of North's Plutarch, has now issued a new edition of Shakespeare's poems. And Mr. Horace Howard Furness in the earlier part of the present year has published the eleventh volume of his Variorum Edition, the issue being entirely devoted to the "Winter's Tale," and the play seeming to be "edited with a greater verve and a more triumphant solution of difficulties than any of its predecessors." Such literary activity indicates the poet's enduring influence. "One hundred years ago George Steevens was the reigning editor of the poet, hotly pursued by Isaac Reed. It would pass the memory of man, and is probably known only to Mr. Furness, how many other phantoms have walked since then over the marble of Shakespeare's tomb. They have passed into the land where names are shadows; he is as young and strong and (to borrow Coleridge's phrase) as 'thousand-souled' as ever. Indeed, as masterpieces are living things and grow long after the decease of those who create them, it may without paradox be said that at no time within three hundred years has Shakespeare been so imperiously vital as he is to-day."

THOSE who admit that God has the ordering of the world, says H. M. Tenney, D.D., in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, are "compelled to see the divine severity revealed on every hand." Human sufferings come by deprivation and by infliction—the results of the latter including

"the more positive pangs of body and mind and conscience; the social and national alienations and separations and bitternesses and conflicts, with the multiplied and endless woes which they involve." The severity of God with respect to individuals, continues the writer, is also but representative of his severity toward societies and nations. The horrors that still exist in India are but "the judgment of God upon falsehood in religion." So far also as Turkey and Spain are concerned, there has been with the latter "a false or merely formal religion, the practical denial of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, a petty and puerile pride, the selfish seeking of personal and dynastic ends instead of the enlightenment and elevation and blessing of the people." But it is equally certain that "on such things and on such peoples God is hard. He is a consuming fire. There is such a thing as the wrath of God. There is such a thing as the drinking of the wine of the wrath of God." The more pleasant aspect of the subject is, however, the one to which Dr. Tenney particularly directs attention in his article entitled "Divine Goodness in Severity." Obedience to the laws of being "never brings woe, but always blessing." If these laws were so changed that their violation would insure no penalty, "the order of the universe would be broken up, the government of God would be destroyed, and all things resolved back into anarchy and chaos." In other words, "these laws of God—physical, social, moral, and spiritual—are the manifestation of the divine goodness and grace." Suffering as the result of sin is "the danger signal which tells of peril. . . . And in our moral helplessness and unwillingness the divine severity is intended to lead us to Christ, our personal deliverer and Saviour."

Two articles on a subject of international importance, the English-American alliance, are found in successive numbers of the *Nineteenth Century*. In the July issue of this publication Frederick Greenwood discusses the subject under the title of "The Anglo-American Future." His article is discouraging to the proposal; sanctions the theory that "the surest way to bring upon the United States the dictatorial intervention of Europe" is "to hold out the likelihood of an anticontinental alliance;" and suggests that the necessity for such an alliance is based upon conditions which may soon change. The article in the August number of the periodical is entitled "England and America," and is written by Sir George Sydenham Clarke, F.R.S. Agreeing with Mr. Greenwood that "a defensive alliance between Great Britain and the United States is not, at the present moment, within the range of practical politics," he differs with his suggestion that "British support would not be forthcoming if the United States were attacked by continental Europe." Our isolation "from the affairs of the world," the writer adds, "is no longer possible. . . . Not the brilliant writings of Captain Mahan, which have hitherto exerted far more influence in the Old than in the New World, but the inherited instincts of the race are forcing the American people onward and

outward. . . . The same forces that have created the British empire have built up the great republic, and will irresistibly bring it into the front rank of the States of the world."

In its table of contents for July the *London Quarterly* appropriately notices "Mr. Gladstone as a Religious Teacher." To a charge of political insincerity brought against him the Dean of St. Paul's once replied, "Insincere, sir? I tell you that in my knowledge Mr. Gladstone goes from communion with God into the great affairs of State." Biblical theology was perhaps his favorite pursuit, and "his public addresses and books exhibit a profound reverence for and an intimate familiarity with Holy Writ." While relatively indifferent to destructive higher criticism, he "loved the words of Scripture too dearly to sacrifice any of them when details came to be pressed and the choice must be made." Having entered into the secret places of religion, "he tells of its joy and peace and rest," and "it will be long before the echoes of that voice cease to reverberate down the gathering years."

In the *Christian Quarterly* for July appears a vigorous polemic entitled "Bishop Merrill on 'Buried by Baptism.'" The views of the bishop to which it takes exception are those he expresses in the interpretation of Rom. vi, 3–6, and its contention is, of course, for immersion as the historic method of baptism. The writer is J. B. Briney.

The *Edinburgh Review* for July has as its table of contents: 1. "The International Crisis in Austria-Hungary;" 2. "Fairy Tales as Literature;" 3. "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art;" 4. "The Earl-Bishop of Derry;" 5. "The Dining Societies of London;" 6. "The Duc d'Aumale;" 7. "The Purification of Sewage and Water;" 8. "Two Centuries of French Art;" 9. "Admiral Duncan and Naval Defense Past and Present;" 10. "The Survival and Destruction of British Animals;" 11. "British Policy in China."

Prominent among the illustrated articles in the August *Chautauquan* are "The Vitals of a Battle Ship," by R. L. Fearn; "Women in the Ministry," by Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; "Bird Songs of Early Summer," by F. S. Mathews; "Overhead Tramways," by H. W. Lanier; and "The Daily Papers of Chicago," by Le Roy Armstrong. The number is crowded with profitable reading.

The *Homiletic Review* for August has in its leading department "Illustration in Preaching," by W. G. Blaikie, LL.D.; "The Use and Abuse of Competition," by W. S. Lilly; "Dwight L. Moody as Preacher," by W. C. Wilkinson, D.D.; "Word Selection in the Pulpit," by Rev. J. C. Fernald; and "Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries," by Professor J. F. McCurdy, LL.D.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Hope of Immortality. By the Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON, Head Master of Harrow School. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

IT would seem that nothing new could be written on the subject of a future existence. The many arguments therefor—philosophical, scientific, and theological—having already been classified by scholars, there is in fact little more to be said except in the way of emphasis upon some particular proof. Nor do we understand that Mr. Welldon in his present undertaking claims more than a rearrangement of arguments already existing. Yet, if he adds nothing to the sum total of proofs for immortality, the subject has nevertheless passed through the alembic of his own thought, and the result is a restatement of existing truth which has both charm and value. As the author says in the outset, the book is "addressed to the intelligence and information, not of theological experts especially, but of educated men and women in general," and deals with such important "considerations as are independent of Christianity," with the hope of preparing the way for Christian faith. So far as the nature of the ordinary belief in immortality is concerned, the author informs us in his opening chapter that the doctrine held is not that of metempsychosis, or absorption into the Universal Soul, or conditional future existence, or the Positivist theory of living after death in the work of others, as expressed by George Eliot in her wish to join the "choir invisible." But, rather, the immortality for which Mr. Welldon pleads is "the personal, intrinsic, inalienable, eternal attribute of every individual soul of man." The second chapter, entitled "The History of the Belief," in tracing the development of the existing doctrine holds that it "has been largely determined by the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." The conception of "the human spirit or soul as in its nature surviving the bodily life," says the writer, "appears to be universal among the primitive and savage races of mankind," and while at first "crude and material" has been "slowly refined into spirituality." This conception, "first imagined by the psalmists and prophets, and afterwards purified in the apocryphal literature, was elevated to its sublime dignity by Jesus Christ." He taught the paramount superiority of the soul. Religion is a cultivation of the soul, and "beyond this cultivation no religious system or creed can ever rise." As for the influence of the doctrine of immortality upon practical living the author states its importance, yet in our judgment does not overestimate its worth, in his chapter on the "Value of the Belief." His catalogue of its benign effects upon human life has the charm of enthusiastic statement. It alone affords, "as interpreted by the enlightened conscience

of humanity," an "absolute moral sanction for all the critical, sublime demands and duties of life" and "a complete infallible solace for all human sufferings, trials, and disappointments." It "exalts and ennobles the whole conception of human nature;" it "guarantees the supreme virtues of humanity, such as devotion, love, and purity;" and it "attests that man is made in the image of God, and can shape himself according to his divine Original." Thus far we have addressed ourselves to considerations which in the author's arrangement precede his citation of arguments for immortality. These he now groups in the two following chapters, under the classification of "external" and of "internal" evidences. The treatment of the first group of evidences Mr. Welldon prefaces by the claim that analogical argument is not proof, since analogy is not "proof," but "illustration," and "recommends and enforces belief," rather than creates it. Christ's parables, in other words, are not "logical premises from which a conclusion is derived;" Paul's reasoning in Corinthians for the resurrection of the body is in the nature of an analogy; and Bishop Butler's great work is a comparison between religion and the phenomena of nature, but a comparison which "possesses no evidential value except upon the hypothesis that the phenomena of nature represent the thought of a single supreme intelligence." Analogy, that is to say, is not supreme. In vigorous argument, which will doubtless seem sound to every reader, the volume cautions against exaggerating the importance of the argument from analogy for the soul's immortality, and infers that writers "have sometimes done their cause an injury by the stress they have laid upon necessarily inadequate analogical examples of a life transcending and transforming apparent death." The external evidences for immortality, continues the volume, are threefold, being found in the constitution of the universe, the nature of man, and the being of God; but they must be dismissed, in our absolute inability to even outline the author's able treatment, with this bare enumeration. The internal evidences for immortality, in the estimate of Mr. Welldon, are found in the nature of the soul itself; and they consist in its immateriality, its indissolubility, its intrinsic energy or activity, and its affinity to the divine nature. "To my mind," he triumphantly writes at the conclusion of this argument, "there are but two logical positions which the human reason can permanently assume towards the complex phenomena of life. The one is sheer, dark, absolute materialism. The other is theism with its inherent probability of such a communication from God to man as is called revelation, and its stronger, because more subjective, probability of a soul other than material, transcending time and space, and asserting its kinship with heaven. Between these beliefs the religious spirit will not long hesitate to choose." And, since belief in the future is a philosophical as well as a Christian doctrine, a distinction must be made between immortality and Christian immortality. To the latter theory does the volume particularly direct attention in its final chapter, "The Christian Amplification of the Belief,"

giving large notice to Christ's revelation on the nature of the future life. Using the current language of the world, he largely spoke in figure; he took immortality for granted, rather than proved it; and he recommended the truth not only by his lucid teaching but also by his example. "He lived, as it were, in the clear air of a mountain height, while others, living at its feet, were in mist and darkness. Upon him, and upon him alone among the sons of men, the light of heaven shone uncloudedly." Following this the book ends with a discussion of the conditions and details of the future existence which provokes new inquiry on the part of the reader. In other words, while the volume puts in compact form and able grouping many of the overwhelming proofs for another life, it does not and cannot answer those questions as to place and circumstances concerning which scholarship has no ultimate solution. As to these details man will be until the end an interrogation point. But, within the sphere of his discussion, Mr. Welldon has written with a master hand, and has kindled anew for the reader the only torch that can light the dark.

Christ and the Critics. By GÉRÔME. 16mo, pp. 85. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

An extract from the Preface will indicate the aim of this concise little book: "No attempt has been made to solve any philological, geographical, historical, theological, or other question of higher criticism. . . . I have sought the answer to one question only, and that was, not what the Old Testament books said as to their authorship, not what the apostles and evangelists said, not what the voices of the ages have said, but what did Christ say?" After four chapters entitled, "The Case in Court," "The Appeal to the Master," "Did Moses Write the Pentateuch?" and "Moses and the Books," comes the final chapter, which "is added for the purpose of showing that the conclusions reached are not inimical to the noble results of modern scholarship." The nature of the author's conclusions may be indicated by brief extracts from the closing chapter. His verdict is that "Christ has spoken and Moses was the author of the Pentateuch." He does not expect either the ultra-conservative nor the advanced critic to be satisfied with his argument, his conclusions, or the corollaries therefrom. He thinks the truth lies somewhere between these two extremists. "The statements of our Lord concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch may not render so worthless the labors of biblical critics, or bar the open path to progress so completely as some imagine. We can appeal to Christ, and we may gladly accept his statements, and still be loyal, we believe, to the principles and methods of higher criticism. . . . We do not believe it is necessary to ignore the declarations of Christ in order to prosecute scientifically our study of the Bible. No statement of the Lord that Moses was the author of any book rivets us down to the unreasonable belief that Moses sat, pen in hand, and originally wrote every word in that book as we now have it. Such an extreme view as that is as ridiculous as the notion

that Moses was not an author at all. Putting Scripture on the rack, and forcing it to speak as we desire, is an unholy use of the Sacred Oracle. Neither men nor Scriptures should be placed on the rack or broken on the wheel over this contention; for we can all see how Paul could certainly be the author of the Epistle to the Romans, even if Tertius did write it (Rom. xvi, 22), and Moses could also have been an author, although others edited and added to his work in after centuries." "Jesus knew the Scriptures. . . . That he was ignorant of any question ever being raised concerning the authorship of certain books and the authority of others, we do not believe; for we do not suppose that any educated person from Dan to Beersheba was ignorant of the debates that once animated the theological schools of the great rabbins Hillel and Schammai. Now, many passages held as proof by modern critics that Moses did not write the Pentateuch must have been as well known to the great Teacher as they are to us; and, from the nature of the case and the constitution of the human mind they must have awakened thought in him as to their authorship as they do in us. . . . Indeed, we think very few difficulties, discrepancies, or contradictions in the old Bible, so conspicuously paraded by rationalistic critics, were unknown to Him who once said to the rationalists of his day, 'Search the Scriptures.' And yet this same Jesus said, 'Moses wrote.' . . . We can be students of biblical criticism without surrendering to the premature *dicta* of Kuenen and Wellhausen, and the whole crowd of Hegelian dreamers who base criticism on philosophy, and philosophy on imagination. We can also be progressive students of the word without adopting the views of Professors Driver, Gore, and others of like teaching, who are evidently unwilling to grant to the profoundest Student of the word of God that ever looked into its pages the critical acumen even of the rabbins who disputed in the schools in the generation preceding him. Even when but a mere boy he was once found in the company of Israel's teachers, 'hearing them and asking them questions, and all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers' (Luke ii, 46, 47). . . . Finally, Christ said Moses wrote; the Pentateuch itself proves that Moses could not have written it as it now is; Christ therefore could not have meant that Moses wrote it as it now is; for the evidence was before him as it is before us; and the office, therefore, of a genuine higher criticism is not to ignore the words of Christ, but to show us truly what Moses did write. We may well believe that as between religion and true science there is no feud, so between Christ and genuine criticism there is no conflict." We expect that these extracts from the beginning and the end of this book will awaken in many a desire to read the argument which makes the bulk of the volume.

Christianity and Anti-Christianity in their Final Conflict. By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS, author of *The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth*, etc. 8vo, pp. 356. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

Around the single word "antichrist," but five times used in the Scripture, and that always in the epistles of John, the controversies of

the centuries have raged. Whether "Nero or Mohammed, the Pope or Luther, the Papacy or Protestantism" be the great adversary to Christianity that is meant has depended upon the personal attitude of the disputant in the long discussion, but none of these questions are reopened in the present volume. Denying that his aim is "historical or polemical," the author rather seeks to note the religious tendencies of the times as preparatory for the fulfillment of the Scripture predictions. The teachings of the Bible concerning the antichrist are appropriately noted in Part I, and include the instructions of the Old Testament; of Christ; of the apostles collectively, and then individually of Paul, John, Peter, and Jude; and finally of the Book of Revelation. An impressive grouping of Scripture assertions it surely is, and the conviction forces itself upon the thoughtful reader that whoever or whatever is meant by the Antichrist, a malignant and powerful adversary is to rise up to oppose the ultimate triumph of the faith. In Part II the author considers "The Falling Away of the Church" in its relation to its Head, to the Holy Ghost, and to the world; and the reader cannot in this case but be keenly impressed that, even unconsciously to herself, the Church seems at least in some measure to be fulfilling the mysterious prophecies of the Scripture. One of the most noticeable sections of the book, however, is the tracing in Part III of the tendencies in the present day that are preparing the way of the Antichrist. In his classification the author groups with vivid force such features of current thought as are indicated in the following topics: "Modern Pantheistic Philosophy," "Modern Philosophy and the New Christianity," "Deification of Humanity," "Tendencies of Modern Biblical Criticism," "Tendencies of Modern Science," "Tendencies of Modern Literature," and "Christian Socialism and the Kingdom of God." Amplifying each of these prevalent conditions with scholarly force, the author concludes: "We have seen the last form which the Church assumes in alliance with the powers of this world, as symbolized by the woman on the beast. . . . We have seen the growing tendency among the nations of Christendom to recognize their common interests, and make these the basis of a political unity—the brotherhood of nations built upon the brotherhood of man. The outlines of a great confederacy are coming more and more distinctly into view, which, when it is perfected, will have Antichrist as its head, and thus make him the great ruler of the world. But his reign is of short duration. He, with the false prophet, perishes, and the returning Lord establishes his kingdom of righteousness, which will fill the earth and never end." The quotation is one to which many may take exception. Yet it shows the trend of the discussion and the suggestive quality of the book. While it is not a restful volume—for the consideration of Scripture predictions leaves the ordinary student with the sense that the ground is slipping underneath his feet—it is at least timely in the new attention it calls to that contention of the ages, the establishment of the personality of the Antichrist.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Glory of the Imperfect. By GEORGE HERBERT PALMER, LL.D., Alford Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 31. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

Matthew Arnold, who, while always a mental stimulant, was often an intellectual irritant, frequently disparaged America, declaring that no man will live here if he can live elsewhere, because ours is an uninteresting land. The chief sources of interest to Arnold were beauty and distinction, and as he found America not beautiful, and its scenery, its people, and its past not distinguished, he said it is impossible therefore for an intelligent and cultivated man to find permanent interests in this country. Just now one Harvard professor is being sharply complained of by Senator Hoar for having recently told his students, in the capriously critical spirit and supercilious tone of Matthew Arnold, that "it is characteristic of the American people to be trifling; that they have acquired a varnish of civilized life, but their natures have not been refined;" and that he "feels with Horace Walpole that he should be proud of his country if it were not for his countrymen." If that particular professor were a mind-reader he would probably read that several millions of his fellow-countrymen are anything but proud of him. Professor Palmer helps to rebalance the credit of the university and gives both pleasure and instruction in the small volume before us, by repelling the offensive and unwarranted statement of Arnold, showing that America is full of intense interest, the interest of eager activities, magnificent vigor, noble principles, and enlarging life; that the nation is imperfect because it is growing and has not reached its climax; that its glory is its splendid effulgence of power, its marvelous prospects, and that because of these no other land on earth is so interesting as ours. Professor Palmer intimates that Matthew Arnold was more Greek than Christian. He agrees with Arnold in thinking that it is the passion for perfection which is at the root of all enduring interests, but says that in the history of the world this passion for perfection has presented itself in two forms; the Greek conceived it in one way, the Christian has conceived it in another. We quote: "It was the office of that astonishing people, the Greeks, to teach us to honor completeness, the majesty of the rounded whole. We see this in every department of their marvelous life. Whenever we look at a Greek statue it seems impossible that it should be otherwise without loss; we cannot imagine any portion changed; the thing has reached its completeness. Before it we can only bow and feel at rest. Just so it is when we examine Greek architecture; there, too, we find the same ordered proportion, the same adjustment of part to part. And if we turn to Greek literature the stately symmetry is no less remarkable. What page of Sophocles could be stricken out? what page—what sentence? Just enough, not more than enough! The thought has grown, has asserted its entirety; and when that entirety has been reached it has

stopped, delighted with its own perfection. A splendid ideal, an ideal which can never fail, I am sure, to interest man so long as he remains intelligent. And yet this beautiful Greek work shows only one aspect of the world. It omitted one little fact, it omitted formative life. Joy in birth, delight in beginning, interest in origin—these things did not belong to the Greek; they came in with Christianity. It is Jesus Christ who turns our attention toward growth, and so teaches us to delight in the imperfect rather than in the perfect. It is he who, wishing to give to his disciples a model of what they should be, does not select the completed man, but takes the little child and sets him before them and to the supercilious says, 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones.' He teaches us to reverence the beginnings of things. And at first thought it might seem that this reverence for the imperfect was a retrogression. What! is not a consummate man more admirable than a child? 'No,' answered Jesus; and because he answered so pity was born. Before the coming of Jesus Christ, I think we may say that the sick, the afflicted, the child—shall I not say the woman?—were but slightly understood. It is because God has come down from heaven, manifesting even himself in forms of imperfection, it is on this account that our intellectual horizon has been enlarged. We may now delight in the lowly, we may stoop and gather imperfect things, and rejoice in them—rejoice beyond the old Greek rejoicing." Professor Palmer goes on to say that if we content ourselves with the imperfect rather than with the perfect we are not Christians, nor are we Greeks, but mere barbarians. Such is not the spirit of Jesus, for he teaches us to catch the future in the instant, to see the infinite in the finite, to watch the growth of the perfect out of the imperfect. And he teaches us that this delight in progress, in growth, in aspiration, in completing, may rightly be greater than our exultation in completeness. Robert Browning is referred to as "the poet of the imperfect," and it is made to appear that while Arnold is more Greek than Christian, Browning, who certainly knew as much of the Greeks as Arnold did, is more Christian than Greek. Professor Palmer says that the distinctive feature of Browning's work is that he has glorified the latent possibilities of the imperfect; has filled man's heart with courage to strive and struggle on, lured and cheered by the good hope of climbing to the level of high and bright ideals. "He has sought for beauty where there is seeming chaos; he has loved growth, has prized progress, has noted the advance of the spiritual. the pressing on of the finite soul through hindrance to its junction with the infinite. This it is which has inspired his somewhat crabbed verses and has made men willing to undergo the labor of reading them that they, too, may partake of his insight. In one of his poems—one which seems to me to contain some of his sublimest as well as some of his most commonplace lines—the poem on 'Old Pictures in Florence,' Browning discriminates between Greek and Christian art in much the same way." This "poet of the imperfect" teaches, in many a subtle

and powerful study, that "in the lives of us all there should be a divine discontent; not devilish discontent, but divine discontent—a consciousness that life may be larger than we have yet attained, that we are to press beyond what we have reached, that joy lies in the future, in that which has not been found, rather than in the realized present." Suggesting some ways of self-discipline and modes of self-instruction, Professor Palmer says that in order to find the glory of the imperfect, "your first care should be to learn to observe. A simple matter—one, I dare say, which it will seem to you difficult to avoid. You have a pair of eyes; how can you fail to observe? Ah, but eyes can only look, and that is not observing. We must not rest in looking, but must penetrate into things if we would find out what is there. And to find this out is worth while, for everything when observed is of immense interest. There is no object so remote from human life that when we come to study it we may not detect within its narrow compass illuminating and therefore interesting matter. But it makes a great difference whether we do thus really observe, whether we hold attention to the thing in hand and see what it contains. Once, after puzzling long over the charm of Homer, I applied to a learned friend and said to him, 'Can you tell me why Homer is so interesting? Why can't you and I write as he wrote? Why is it that his art is lost, and that to-day it is impossible for us to awaken an interest at all comparable to his?' 'Well,' said my friend, 'I have often meditated on that, but it seems to come to about this: Homer looked long at a thing. Why, do you know that if you should hold up your thumb and look at it long enough you would find it immensely interesting?' Homer looks a great while at his thumb. He sees precisely the thing he is dealing with. He does not confuse it with anything else. It is sharp and distinct to him; and because it is sharp to him it stands out sharply for us over thousands of years. Have you acquired this art of looking long and hard and deep, or do you hastily glance at insignificant objects? Do you see the thing exactly as it is? Do you strip away your own likings and dislikings, your own previous notions of what it ought to be? Do you come face to face with things? If you do, the hardest situation in life may well be to you a delight. For you will not regard hardships, but only opportunities. Possibly you may even feel, 'Yes, here are just the difficulties I like to explore. How can one be interested in easy things? The hard things of life are the ones for which we ought to give thanks.' So may we feel if we have made the cool and hardy temper of the observer our own, if we have learned to put ourselves into a situation and to understand it on all sides. And the things on which we have thus concentrated attention become our permanent interests. For example, when I was trained I was not disciplined in botany. I cannot, therefore, now observe the rose. I have to look stupidly on the total beauty of this lovely object; I can see it only as a whole, while the fine observer, who has trained his powers to pierce it, can comprehend its very structure and see how marvelously the blooming thing is put

together. My eyes were dulled to that long ago; I cannot observe it. Beware, do not let yourselves grow dull. Observe, observe, observe in every direction! Keep your eyes open. Go forward, understanding that the world was made for your knowledge, that you have the right to enter into and possess it."

Poems. By FLORENCE EARLE COATES. 12mo, pp. 136. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mrs. Coates, the accomplished president of the Philadelphia Browning Society, which is reported to be the largest and finest of its kind in this country, dedicates her volume "to the dear and honored memory of Matthew Arnold." Most of these hundred poems are brief, and the longest, "Hylas," the "Dryad Song," and "Daphnis," fill less than five pages each. The critical taste of Matthew Arnold would not have disdained these poems; their matter and form would commend them to him. Graceful expression, a pure taste, poetic sensibility, and fine literary culture mark every verse. The range of subjects is considerable. The never-failing themes which poetry commonly rehearses are here in fresh and felicitous utterance, like this summer's roses on last year's rose-bush; while some of the verses choose subjects which give individuality to the volume. A sample of the latter is the poem, "In a College Settlement." One who looks on the squalor and vice, the filth and brutality, of the slums, despairs of elevating those who have been steeped in degradation from the cradle, who seem to care for nothing fair or sweet, and show no wish for good or craving for the beautiful. In this despondent mood she sees, out in the wretched street, a dirty child carefully picking out from a heap of ashes the faded petals of a rose which some passer-by had thrown away. In that poor little daughter of the slums the latent love of beauty had been wakened and came forth responsive to even so small an invitation. At sight of this the discouraged worker in the slums took heart, and when she went to the ragged, grimy child and offered to take her from foul city streets and tenements away into the country, the hard little face softened into an eager, wistful smile and responded, "Real country, where you can catch flowers?" In the most degraded are capabilities which make worth while all efforts for their redemption and elevation. Here is the cry of one who dreads the pain of doubt:

> It is a pain to thirst and do without,
> A pain to suffer what we deem unjust,
> To win a joy—and lay it in the dust;
> But there's a fiercer pain—the pain of doubt:
> From other griefs Death sets the spirit free;
> Doubt steals the light from immortality.

This is her prayer and pledge to Christ:

> Be Thou my guide, and I will walk in darkness
> As one who treads the beamy heights of day,
> Feeling a gladness amidst desert sadness,
> And breathing vernal fragrance all the way.

Be thou my wealth, and, reft of all besides thee,
I will forget the strife for meaner things,
Blest in the sweetness of thy rare completeness,
And opulent beyond the dreams of kings.

The poem "Homeward" expresses her trust in the heavenly Father's final welcome:

When I come to my Father's house he will hear me;
I shall not need
With words implore
Compassion at my Father's door;
With yearning mute my heart will plead,
And my Father's heart will hear me.

One thought all the day hath still caressed me:
Though cloud-o'ercast
Is the way I go,
Though steep is the hill I must climb, yet, oh,
When evening falls and the light is past,
At my Father's house I will rest me!

Writing of India, she notes that that ancient land has kept no history, studied no science, made no invention or discovery, paid small attention to the events of time, but has spent her ineffectual, unprogressive centuries in dreaming vague unprofitable dreams and raising her yearning vision toward the inaccessible and irresponsive stars. Mrs. Coates's poems impress us with the joy and elevation which culture gives to its possessor, and the music which is made for the world by sensibilities refined and a soul ennobled.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Christina Rossetti. A Biographical and Critical Study. By MACKENZIE BELL. With six portraits and six facsimiles. 8vo, pp. 405. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.50.

Her biographer tells us that in December, 1894, when Christina Rossetti's coffin was lowered from wintry sunshine into snow-sprinkled earth, in Highgate Cemetery, London, a robin sang near by, the tribute of one singer to another. Soon after Andrew Lang wrote: "There can be little doubt that we are now deprived of the greatest English poet of the sex which is made to inspire poetry rather than to create it. Except Mrs. Browning we have no one to be named with Miss Rossetti in all the roll-call of our literary history. . . . For the quality of conscious art, and for music and color of words in regular composition, she seems to me to be unmatched." Watts-Dunton's extravagant eulogy was: "Of all contemporary poets she seemed to me the most indubitably inspired." Yet Miss Rossetti's own judgment was more sensible when she wrote in 1891, after Patchett Martin had stated his opinion that she herself was a greater literary artist than Mrs. Browning: "I doubt whether the woman is born, or for many a long day, if ever, will be born, who will balance, not to say outweigh, Mrs. Browning." Both women were measurably Italian—Miss Rossetti by her lineage, and her early familiarity with Italian literature, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto; Mrs. Browning by her long residence in

Italy and her delight in its scenery and its people; both of them by their deep sympathy with the cause of Italian liberation: one being an Anglicised Italian and the other an Italianized English woman. Among eulogies of Miss Rossetti none is quite so unexpected as Swinburne's demonstrative praise. It is much to his credit that he had the soul to admire Miss Rossetti. He couched his admiration in such descriptive tribute as this:

> Blithe verse made all the dim sense clear
> That smiles of babbling babes conceal:
> Prayer's perfect heart spake here: and here
> Rose notes of blameless woe and weal,
> More soft than this poor song's appeal.
> Where orchards bask, where cornfields wave,
> They dropped like rains that cleanse and lave,
> And scattered all the year along,
> Like dewfall on an April grave,
> Sweet water from the well of song.

In opposition to one reviewer, who says that some one else might have given us a better biography of Miss Rossetti, we think Mr. Bell has done well with the materials furnished by a quiet and retired woman's life whose events, for the most part, were her successive poems. His book satisfies all reasonable expectations and wishes. It gives a biography, full and correct, a clear picture of her personal appearance, manners, habits, and preferences, an intimate view of her spirit and inner life, an intelligent and helpful analysis of all her writings in prose and in poetry, her opinions of numerous persons and things, and a good idea of the impression she made on her own time as mirrored in eulogies and critical estimates from a variety of capable judges. In early life she is described as really lovely in appearance, with warm brown hair, peculiar eyes of hazel and blue-gray, one hue shifting into the other, with an expression of pensive sweetness in her countenance. When a young girl she sat to her brother Gabriel for the Virgin in the picture now in the National Gallery. Mrs. Frend, in an article in *Good Words* for December, 1896, contributes this reminiscence: "It was in the June of 1863 that Miss Christina Rossetti came upon her first memorable visit to my home among the Surrey hills. She was then a dark-eyed, slender lady, in the plenitude of her poetic powers, having already written some of her most perfect poems—'Goblin Market' and 'Dream Land.' To my childish eyes she appeared like some fairy princess who had come from the sunny South to play with me. In appearance she was Italian, with olive complexion and deep hazel eyes. She possessed, too, the beautiful Italian voice which all the Rossettis were gifted with—a voice made up of strange, sweet inflexions, which rippled into silvery modulations in sustained conversation, making ordinary English words and phrases fall upon the ear with a soft, foreign, musical intonation, though she pronounced the words themselves with the purest of English accents." She received two offers of marriage, one, when she was nineteen, from a painter well known in her circle. She liked him, but he was a Roman Catholic, and his offer

was declined because of "religious considerations." The other came when she was thirty-six, from a man of letters, a scholar of eminence, toward whom also her inclinations were favorable; but she declined to marry him because he was "either not a Christian at all or else was a Christian of undefined and heterodox views." She outlived both suitors. Into Christina's life was put a measure of pathos and of tears and comprehension of suffering, by various sorrows, disappointments, and illnesses. In youth she expected consumption; later angina pectoris tortured her; in 1871 she had a long and serious sickness, with great suffering from Dr. Graves's disease (also called Exophthalmic Bronchocele, because of its causing protrusion of the eyes); for years she suffered from heart ailment, attended with dropsical symptoms; in 1892 she was operated on for cancer, which reappeared a year later on her arm and shoulder, banishing all hope of recovery. Then she lifted her eyes pathetically to a friend and said, appealingly, "Will you promise to pray for me? I have to suffer so very much." In her work Miss Rossetti had the encouragement of warm admirers, but also, what is rarer and more valuable, the benefit of capable and faithful criticism. When she wished to have some of her verses printed in the *Athenæum*, and submitted six poems to her brother Gabriel and Mr. Watts-Dunton for their opinion and advice, they frankly told her that the verses were unworthy of her, and that she "had better buckle to at once and write another poem." The result was an exquisite lyric, which the *Athenæum* was glad to print. Mrs. Meynell wrote that Christina always approached her subjects from the poetic side; William Rossetti says, "No; from the religious side," and adds that she wrote nothing as a poet which she did not believe as a saint. He also writes: "Assuredly my sister did to the last continue believing in the promises of the Gospel as interpreted by theologians; but her sense of its threatenings was very lively, and at the end more operative on her personal feelings. This should not have been." She was firmly convinced that her mother and sister are saints in heaven, but the humility of her self-estimate caused her troubled misgivings about her own safety. Watts-Dunton writes that in her writings "we see at its best what Christianity is as the motive power of poetry. The Christian idea is essentially feminine, and of this feminine idea Christina Rossetti's poetry is full. In motive power the difference between classic and Christian poetry must needs be very great. But this at least cannot be controverted, that the history of literature shows no human development so beautiful as the ideal Christian woman of our own day. She is unique, indeed." Mr. W. M. Rossetti writes that his sister Christina "reaches true artistic effects with apparently little study and as little of mere chance—rather by an internal sense of fitness, a mental touch as delicate as the finger-tips of the blind. She simply, as it were, pours words into the mold of her idea, and the resultant effigy comes right because the idea and the mind of which it is a phase are beautiful ones—serious, yet feminine, and in part almost playful. There

is no poet with a more marked instinct for fusing the thought into the image and the image into the thought; the fact is always to her emotional, not merely positive, and the emotion clothed in a sensible shape, not merely abstract. No treatment can be more artistically womanly in general scope, which appears to us the most essential distinction of Christina's writings." Mr. Arthur Symons has pointed out with lucidity and force certain aspects of her genius: "The secret of her style—which seems innocently unaware of its own beauty—is, no doubt, its sincerity, leading to the employment of homely words where homely words are wanted, and always of natural and really expressive words; yet not sincerity only, but sincerity as the servant of a finely touched and exceptionally *seeing* nature—a power of seeing finely beyond the scope of ordinary vision—and this brings with it a subtle power of expressing subtle conceptions, always clearly, always simply, with a singular and often startling homeliness, yet in a way and about subjects as far removed from the borders of the commonplace as possible. This power is shown in every division of her poetry—in the peculiar witchery of the poems dealing with the supernatural, in the exaltation of the devotional poems, in the particular charm of the child-songs, bird-songs, and nature lyrics, in the special variety and special excellence of the poems of affection and meditation." On one of the last pages of this book we are told that Wordsworth "frequently spoke of death as if it were the taking of a new degree in the University of Life." With reference to certain modern views of woman's sphere Miss Rossetti was something of a conservative as may be seen from one of her letters to Augusta Webster: "My objection seems to myself a fundamental one underlying the whole structure of female claims. Does it not appear as if the Bible was based upon an understood unalterable distinction between men and women, their position, duties, privileges? Not arrogating to myself, but most earnestly desiring to attain to, the character of a humble orthodox Christian, so it does appear to me; not merely under the old but also under the new dispensation. The fact of the priesthood being exclusively man's leaves me in no doubt that the highest functions are not in this world open to both sexes; and if not all, then a selection must be made and a line drawn somewhere. On the other hand, if female rights are sure to be overborne for lack of female voting influence, then I confess I feel disposed to shoot ahead of my instructresses, and to assert that female M. P.'s are only right and reasonable. Also I take exceptions at the exclusion of married women from the suffrage—for who so apt as mothers, all previous arguments being allowed for the moment—to protect the interests of themselves and their offspring? I do think if anything ever does sweep away the barrier of sex, and make the female not a giantess or a heroine but at once and full-grown a hero and giant, it is that mighty maternal love which makes little birds and little beasts as well as little women matches for very big adversaries. . . . But I do not think it quite inadmissible that men should continue the exclusive national

legislators, so long as they do continue the exclusive soldier-representatives of the nation, and engross the whole payment in life and limb for national quarrels. I do not know whether any lady is prepared to adopt the Platonic theory of female regiments; if so, she sets aside this objection; but I am not, so to me it stands. . . . I do not think the present social movements tend on the whole to uphold Christianity, or that the influence of some of our most prominent and gifted women is exerted in that direction; and thus thinking, I cannot aim at 'women's rights.'"

The Turk and the Land of Haig; or, Turkey and Armenia. Descriptive, Historical, and Picturesque. By ANTRANIG AZHDERIAN. 8vo, pp. 403. New York: The Mershon Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Armenia is one of the lands of the East upon which the gaze of statesmen and Christian workers will continue to be centered until final order has been evolved from the confusion yet prevailing there. For while no story of Turkish massacres is at present heard, the student of history cannot hope that the silence means aught more than a lull before other storms that shall break upon the fair land of Haig. Mr. Azhderian's book has therefore the merit of being pathetically opportune, as he outlines the origin, the social customs, the literature, the genius of the Turk, and much more that goes to make up the rounded story of Armenian nationality. Two of the most important chapters of the volume are those entitled "The Armenian Church" and "The Religion of the Turks —Mohammedanism." In the earliest centuries of the Christian era the Gospel was introduced into Armenia. Tradition has it that Bartholomew and Thaddeus there preached the new belief. At the beginning of the fourth century, it is certain, Christianity gained a foothold there, and from that time till the present "the faith of Jesus Christ has been the faith of the Armenian people." Having been separated for centuries from the Catholic Church, the Armenian Church has a full autonomy and a vigor of which the ordinary reader may not be aware. It is "apostolic in its teachings, orthodox in its form, and liberal in its nature. In theology it is Augustinian, adopting the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds. Both in its doctrinal and ceremonial aspects it has more affinity now to the high Anglican Church than to any other branch of Christianity. It embraces the doctrine of the Trinity, and believes in the incarnated divinity of Christ, separated but blended in perfect harmony in an unapproachable life. . . . It believes in the adoration and mediation of saints, but not in the purgatorial penance, though prayer and entreaties are offered for the pardon of departed souls. . . . The worship of the Church is liturgical. . . . The sign of the cross is used at all services. The adoration of pictures of saints and of the cross is believed to be of special efficacy. There are seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, ordination, marriage, and extreme unction." As for the religion of the Turks it is an all-important element in their national life. "For

a Turk to deny Mohammedanism is to renounce all claims to his nationality." The Moslem God is "an impersonation of arbitrary will," and in its persecution of other faiths Mohammedanism is "infernally atrocious in theory and practice." We have said that the value of this book is in its timeliness. But none the less is its excellence evident in the additional circumstance that its author is himself an Armenian and speaks whereof he knows. Bishop Huntington, of the Diocese of Central New York, has written some appreciative introductory words, in which he calls attention to Mr. Azhderian's superior social rank and abilities. To all of which those will give assent who have personally met the author and seen his zeal for his oppressed people. He should have a wide hearing through his book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Christian Science and its Problems. By J. H. BATES, Ph.M. 12mo, pp. 141. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The difficulties to be encountered in the acceptance of Christian Science as a system of faith and practice are vigorously stated in this treatise. After two chapters, which the author devotes to a consideration of "The Immanence of God" and "Life," fifty pages are given to a statement of the views held by the Christian Scientists on such fundamentals as matter, mind, God, evil, disease, and death. As for the cures worked by Christian Science, Mr. Bates gives them a place with those worked by other systems of mental healing; and all of these systems, he says, "seem to come under a common law, which may probably be derived from the study of hypnotism." The book seems a compact treatment of the subject under discussion, and furnishes adequate arguments for any who are called upon to antagonize the errors of Christian Science.

Easy Lessons in Vocal Culture and Vocal Expression. Designed for the Use of Classes in Grammar and High Schools, Academies, and Normal Schools. By S. S. HAMILL, A.M., Chicago, author of *Science of Elocution*, etc., formerly Professor of English and Elocution, Illinois Wesleyan University, etc. 12mo, pp. 198. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts and Jennings. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

It is instructive to read in the author's Preface what he does not purpose to accomplish by this handbook. "The lessons," he says, "are not intended to teach anatomy or physiology, metaphysics or theology. . . . Nor are the exercises designed to teach gymnastics, 'Delsartics,' posing, prancing, strutting, starting, silly grimaces, nor ridiculous contortions. . . . Nor is it the object of the lessons to make the few, eloquent orators, 'distinguished dramatic readers,' or accomplished actors." But the author has designed "to meet the wants of the many" in the preparation of these lessons, and evidently has included many things of importance in his instructions. Position, movement, respiration, articulation, tones of voice, and gesticulation are among the subjects discussed. Those who are in search of the latest works on elocution will do well to examine this work of Professor Hamill.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. Frances Elizabeth Willard, the "White Ribbon Chieftain." *Mrs. Isabella Webb Parks, South Atlanta, Ga.* 849

II. The Monistic Psychology. *Professor G. W. Knight, Ph.D., Boston Theological Seminary, Boston, Mass.* 863

III. "Hamlet"—A Character Sketch. *Professor W. F. Whitlock, D.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.* 881

IV. The Evolution of the Civic Idea. *Professor G. H. Fall, Ph.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.* 899

V. The Atonement as a Factor in Divine Government. *Rev. L. R. Fiske, D.D., LL.D., Albion, Mich.* 913

VI. Savonarola and Rome. *Rev. C. C. Starbuck, Andover, Mass.* . . 919

VII. The Covenant of Salt. *Rev. J. N. Fradenburgh, D.D., LL.D., Clarion, Pa.* 937

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 955

Common Sense and Hypercriticism, 956; A Congo Critic on the Spanish-American War, 960.

The Arena 967

"A New Departure Proposed," 967; The Postcaptive Life of St. Paul, 970; Church Music, 971; "A Higher Reconciling Truth," 972.

The Itinerants' Club 973

A Significant Textual Emendation, 973; The Tests of a Successful Ministry, 974.

Archæology and Biblical Research 977

New Testament Criticism, 977.

Missionary Review 981

Self-Support on the Foreign Field, 981; Missions to Mohammedans, 982; "Anglo-American Alliance," 984.

Foreign Outlook. 985

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines. 991

Book Notices. 995

Index. 1017

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD, THE "WHITE RIBBON CHIEFTAIN"..... 849
Mrs. ISABELLA WEBB PARKS, South Atlanta, Ga.

THE MONISTIC PSYCHOLOGY..... 863
Professor C. W. RISHELL, Ph.D., Boston Theological Seminary, Boston, Mass.

"HAMLET"—A CHARACTER SKETCH..... 881
Professor W. F. WHITLOCK, D.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

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Professor G. H. FALL, Ph.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.

THE ATONEMENT AS A FACTOR IN DIVINE GOVERNMENT..... 913
Rev. L. R. FISKE, D.D., LL.D., Albion, Mich.

SAVONAROLA AND ROME..... 919
Rev. C. C. STARBUCK, Andover, Mass.

THE COVENANT OF SALT..... 937
Rev. J. N. FRADENBURGH, D.D., LL.D., Clarion, Pa.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 955
Common Sense and Hypercriticism, 956; A Congo Critic on the Spanish-American War, 960.

THE ARENA..... 967
"A New Departure Proposed," 967; The Postcaptive Life of St. Paul, 970; Church Music, 971; "A Higher Reconciling Truth," 972.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 973
A Significant Textual Emendation, 973; The Tests of a Successful Ministry, 974.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 977
New Testament Criticism, 977.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 981
Self-support on the Foreign Field, 981; Missions to Mohammedans, 982; "Anglo-American Alliance," 984.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 985

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 991

BOOK NOTICES..... 995
Liddon's Sermons Preached on Special Occasions, 995; Bowne's The Christian Revelation, 998; Sitterly's Praxis in Manuscripts of the Greek Testament, 999; Hyde's The Evolution of the College Student, 1000; Cooke's Early Letters of George William Curtis, 1005; Collections and Recollections, 1008; Ellinwood's Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher, 1011; MISCELLANEOUS, 1014.

INDEX..... 1017

Frances Gerard

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1898.

ART. I.—FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD, THE "WHITE RIBBON CHIEFTAIN."

ON the morning of February 18, 1898, the telegraph flashed to the remotest corners of the earth the tidings, "Frances Willard is dead." The pathway of that message was marked by stricken hearts. From humanity's great workers, the world over, came back words of sorrow and of irreparable loss. Countless homes scattered through all the lands beneath the sun felt that death had crossed their own thresholds. Thousands of heads were bowed in prayer which tears and sobs would not let them utter. From thousands of hearts were echoed Anna Gordon's moan, "It cannot be true. O, I do not see how it can be true!" When the news of Miss Willard's death reached Evanston the flags were placed at half-mast, and thus mutely testified to the grief of her home town until after the final funeral services a week later. In Chicago, Des Moines, Washington, on Governor's Island, and doubtless in many other places this unusual tribute was paid, the only instance in the case of a woman. Rain and storm did not prevent the Broadway Tabernacle from being thronged while her body lay there in state. The journey homeward was one sad triumphal procession. The day on which the earthly remains of Miss Willard reached Chicago was one of the worst which that city knows. A cold wind from the lake blew cutting sheets of snow and sleet into the faces of those who ventured out. Yet, an hour before the train arrived, crowds gathered at the Temple. As the hour drew near so dense became the crowd that women fainted.

Then the police interposed and formed the waiting multitude into a line four deep. This extended from the entrance on Monroe Street to the middle of La Salle Street, then turning past the front of the Temple it extended for nearly a block. All day long that sad procession never flagged, and, though twenty thousand people viewed the remains, at four o'clock in the afternoon, when it was necessary to take the body to the train for Evanston, the police were obliged to disperse five hundred people who were still waiting to see for the last time the beloved face. Such world-wide honors were never before accorded any woman; such universal grief has not touched humanity since Abraham Lincoln died. "She loved the human race with a divine affection." "She ceased to work for humanity only when she ceased to breathe." In these tributes is found the secret of the honor which she won, for humanity has learned well to apply Christ's test, and accords the title of "greatest" to those alone who serve most.

To study Miss Willard's lifework is to study the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She became its president six years after its organization, when, as Mary A. Livermore says, "it had suffered from inefficient and illiberal leadership, had no fixed purpose or policy, and lacked coherence and progressive spirit." What the Union is to-day is chiefly due to its great leader. It is her best monument. In it she embodied her best thought and work for the human race. A brief survey of that great organization is all that the limits of this article will permit. The Ohio Liquor Dealers' Association in its convention in 1894 declared, "Our only enemy is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," an assertion practically repeated many times by other liquor associations and papers. On the testimony of its enemies the Union may fairly claim to be without a peer as a temperance organization. But he who sees in it nothing but a temperance society has little comprehension of the great movements going on around him. The meaning of the organization lies in the fact that it unites the women of the world into one great army. Its many departments have been misunderstood by many. But they are the bulwarks of its strength. Each represents some gifted woman with a mission, who has been attached to the

temperance army, and unknown hundreds for whom the work of the department has special attractions. The double purpose is served of securing the cooperation of these women and giving them aid in return. Each of these leaders alone could do the work of one; as superintendent of a department of the Union she becomes the experienced general at the head of a drilled and disciplined army whose forces are planted in every State and Territory, every city and town of the nation. This is why Mary H. Hunt has succeeded in securing compulsory temperance instruction in all schools supported by the national government and in the schools of all the States and Territories save four. This is why the age of consent has been raised in so many States. And this is why, in countless other ways, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been able to influence legislation, and is, altogether, the great woman movement of this "woman's century."

To understand and appreciate Miss Willard's work it is necessary to recognize that she herself felt that her mission was primarily to women. The first time the writer ever heard her speak was in September, 1871, in her first Friday afternoon talk to "her girls" of the Northwestern University. One of the sentences which fastened themselves in our memory was this: "How often from the windows of swift rail cars, flying over those barren and frozen plains in Russia and in Poland, I have looked into the eyes of dark-faced women, dear to God as you or I, and the thought has smitten me, 'I am powerless to help you, but away yonder, across the sea, there is work for me to do, and for that I am gladly going home.'" I little knew then that in that sentence lay wrapped up her deepest thought of her own mission to the world; that it expressed the result of her study of humanity's greatest need. Her journal reveals that those two years of European travel had impressed her chiefly with the sense of woman's sorrowful lot in the world, and that she had resolved to study the "woman question" and speak publicly in behalf of her own sex. Later she said that it was only "the sad state of woman" that gave her courage to speak in public. But though she dedicated all that she was to the cause of womanhood it was not because she made the mistake, which

she attributes to the author of *Getting On in the World*, of "squinting at humanity and seeing only half of it." Still less was it due to any feeling of hostility toward the other half, of whom she always spoke as "brothers beloved," and whose errors she attributed to environment and long-established prejudice. But she saw that the interests of home, of a more carefully nurtured childhood, of a purer manhood, were bound up in the elevation of "humanity's gentler half;" that the "subordination of woman" meant the degradation of all the race. It was therefore for the sake of a whole humanity that she dedicated herself to the work of woman's emancipation and strove to bring about the time when "the measure of every human being's sphere should be the measure of that human being's endowment." Like other great leaders, she did not know that she was to be a great leader. She thought when called to the deanship of the Woman's College of the Northwestern University that she had found her place to work; that her mission was to the "dear, fortunate American girls who should gather round her and love her as of yore;" that she was to inspire them with her own ideals, and that it was through them she was to reach her sisters over all the world. But, as the eagle stirs up her nest and drives forth her young to their nobler destiny, so God drove Frances Elizabeth Willard forth from the vocation for which she was so qualified to be the leader of one of the world's great forward movements. As president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union she no longer said to any woman, "I am powerless to help you," but she reached a hand of succor to all women of every land.

Miss Willard's gifts for the work of a leader were phenomenal. One sometimes doubts whether even those who knew her best and loved her most fully appreciated her rich and varied intellectual and spiritual endowment. She made no show of what she was doing. She never held up her work and cried, "Behold what I have done!" And none but those who worked with her had any conception of the fertility of her plans and the extent of her work. In the Woman's Christian Temperance Union she was the guiding spirit. Her active brain was always planning new work and better

methods of work. Nor was her labor confined to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. No effort anywhere by anyone to make this world better escaped her notice or failed to receive at least a word of encouragement from her. However much the worker might differ from her in all other regards, if he was working in behalf of a cause in which she believed he commanded her sympathy and aid in that work. She was too great a soul to forbid any casting out of demons in the Master's name because they followed not with her. Nor was she so much occupied with general plans for humanity that she forgot the individual. Until the books are opened it will never be known how constant and far-reaching was the help she gave to the needy along her pathway.

How she accomplished so much is a mystery which her colaborers never fully solved. Her own capacity for work was enormous. After her first return from England, when she was still regarded as an invalid, one of the executive committee remarked to another, "Miss Willard can wear us all out now. I don't know what she would do if she were well." But her own great capacity for work was but one element of her great executive ability. The ever-present notebook, in which she jotted down every fact and suggestion as soon as it came to her, which could be helpful along any line, was another of its elements. But perhaps her chief power lay in her ability to get others to work for her. She never did anything that some one else could do as well. It was her strong point that she quickly discerned the gifts of others and inspired them to do their best. Her helpers were her devoted friends and allies. However mechanical the work the worker felt that it was ennobled because it released Miss Willard's hand and brain and left her free for her greater work. And they were more than repaid, for each became her personal friend and received the inspiration of living in familiar contact with one of the greatest souls of this age.

The ability, in a good sense, to manage others is essential to a leader. This Miss Willard possessed in the highest degree. She had wonderful facility in converting people to her views and firing them with her own enthusiasm. This power was clearly shown in her influence over the schoolgirls with whom

she came in contact as a teacher. The writer met Miss Willard for the first time in the fall of 1871. The Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, had just opened its doors to women. The women of Evanston, anxious to make the experiment of coeducation a success in their town, had organized the "Evanston College for Ladies," an institution designed to provide the young ladies who should attend the university with home surroundings and give them women for their counselors and friends. Of this institution Miss Willard was the dean, and it was our happy lot to be from the very beginning one of those whom she always lovingly designated as "my girls." What it was for girls to be closely associated with Miss Willard in the formative period of their lives only those who knew her well can at all estimate. Such broad views of life and destiny as she opened to our sight; such high ideals of character as she set before us; such visions of the heights to which we might climb, of the noble deeds we might achieve; and, with it all, such a deep and weighty sense of responsibility for the use we made of life with its gifts and opportunities, we have never seen or felt through the inspiration of anyone else. It was like living upon Alpine heights to be associated with her.

Her first Friday afternoon talk struck the keynote of her influence over us. In those days coeducation was still looked upon as very much of an experiment, and, though it is doubtful if it has been tried in more friendly and congenial surroundings than at Evanston, there were many there who looked hesitatingly upon it and were ready to seize upon the slightest indications of evil. Before Miss Willard were gathered in that old chapel a company of average girls. None of them wanted to do anything very bad. Many had sought this opportunity for higher education with a more or less earnest purpose to make the most of themselves. But the majority of them had no clearer understanding of life's meaning, no deeper appreciation of its responsibilities, than is usual among girls of their age. They possessed, moreover, quite the average amount of animal spirits and love of fun. Had they been placed in a regulation "female seminary," with its multitude of inconsequential rules, they would have acted as girls usually do under such circumstances, and have set at naught the

exasperating and trivial restrictions which were an insult alike to their good sense and self-respect. To the writer's knowledge there were girls there who only waited the occasion to rebel against any such strictures. But in that first talk Miss Willard disarmed all such incipient rebellion. She gave us briefly the history of the opening of the university to women; told us of President E. O. Haven's generous brotherly interest and faith in us; of the enthusiasm with which the women of Evanston had planned for our coming, and had sought to make the way plain and easy before us; of how ready they were to help us and with what interest they were watching us. Though we saw only unfamiliar faces she assured us that "friendly eyes are upon you as you walk our streets, and the kind hands of strangers are ready to clasp yours." She reminded us that this was a new movement, a step forward in woman's advancement, and its success must depend chiefly upon those in whose interest it was made. "Your feet and mine," she said in her impressive way, "are treading ground untrod before. I am speaking to those whose intellect must be active and keen, whose hearts must be loyal and true, else the new experiment is a failure." By the time she had finished every girl in her presence felt that the eyes of all Evanston were fixed upon our little band in anxious but sympathetic and kindly interest; that the cause of coeducation depended very largely upon our success as students and upon our loyalty to right; more, that the whole cause of woman's advancement was involved in the use we made of the opportunities now placed within our reach. However careless and thoughtless any may have entered the room, all went forth with new and earnest longings to help womanhood and humanity forward to the extent of their influence, by excelling as students and by measuring up to the highest standard of noble womanly character.

Not long after this an incident occurred, small in itself, yet very significant of Miss Willard's hold upon the girls. The old seminary grounds which we occupied temporarily, in the expectation of entering the next year the beautiful new college then building, were very near the railroad track. One afternoon a train passed loaded with young men students. There were twenty or more girls in the yard and on the porch, and

the young men in passing gave the "Female Seminary" the "Chautauqua salute." Not a handkerchief waved in return. On the contrary the demonstration was regarded as an insult, and called forth some indignant comment. Yet there were girls in that group who, under other circumstances, would have considered it great sport to answer the salute, principally because such response would have been defiance of a command which implied lack of sense and of self-respect in those upon whom it was laid. Miss Willard had given no specific direction as to how her girls should conduct themselves toward young men or anyone else. She had simply inspired them with a sense of their individual responsibility, had made them feel that unknown interests depended upon their conduct, and had left the rest to their own heart and judgment. An "arrest of thought" was her sovereign remedy for all the errors of belief or conduct to which human nature is prone. In dealing with students she considered it far more efficacious than rules or monitors. She believed that the only true government is self-government, and on this idea founded her self-governed system. In accordance with this a girl who had been in school one term and had so conducted herself as to call for no reproof was placed upon the roll of honor. Here certain privileges were allowed her. If, for example, she wanted to go down street after a lead pencil, it was taken for granted that she knew what she wanted and could get it without bringing disgrace upon herself or the institution, and she went, not only unaccompanied, but without asking permission of anyone, provided it were out of study hours. A term upon the roll of honor promoted one to the "self-governed list," whose members did exactly as they pleased, "so long as they pleased to do right." Without question from anyone they observed study hours or they did not, consulted their own judgment as to what gentleman company they should accept and when, and, in every other particular, were a law unto themselves. It was assumed that a self-governed girl had good and sufficient reason for her actions, so long as her conduct did not belie the confidence reposed in her. The results fully justified Miss Willard's faith. Unfortunate circumstances, opposition, and lack of harmony toward the close of her stay in Evanston made it impossible for her to

continue her method, but so long as she was free to carry out her plan in her own way her system was a complete success. Not only in the good order which it secured was it successful. In its effect upon character it bore the same relation to the cast-iron regulations so common in schools for girls that light does to darkness. It threw every girl upon her honor and appealed to her highest nature. Never has the writer lived under a keener sense of responsibility than during that time, and the power of Miss Willard's influence has followed us through all the years. The feeling of loyalty to her which was so strong in our schoolgirl days, the fear that she would be disappointed in us if we fell short of being our best self, has spurred us on to higher endeavor in these later years, even as in the old happy days when we were one of her "girls." "Help us to be what each in her best moments wants to be," was the oft-recurring petition in her prayer at evening devotions. To that noblest self of our "best moments" she always appealed. She seemed to ignore the possibility of our allowing any lower self to have a voice in making up our deliberate decisions, and the self thus appealed to responded. It was the same years after when, instead of half a hundred schoolgirls, she gathered as her pupils "the women of two hemispheres." And very seldom did those thus appealed to disappoint her. It could not be expected that there should be no exceptions; Judas became a thief and a traitor while in constant companionship with the Master himself, and there were a few who proved unworthy of Miss Willard's faith and trust. But by far the most have been lifted up to higher planes of life and thought by her generous confidence.

Her religious influence was all-pervasive. Her religion was so thoroughly a part of herself that she breathed it forth unconsciously. How new and fresh were her representations of Christ and of a religious life! In her first Friday afternoon talk she told of the incident when Carlyle said to Emerson, "Christ died on the tree; that built the kirk yonder, and that brought you and me together." "So," she said, "I think, with swelling heart, 'Christ died on the tree;' that built the university up in the grove yonder, and set my girls filing through its open doors." The writer had entered school well

grounded in newspaper skepticism, but from that day Christ began to assume a different character to us. We soon learned to look upon him as the all-powerful friend of woman claiming our allegiance, if for no other reason, because he was the leader in the work of woman's emancipation. It was not strange that warm-hearted girls, their affections unchilled by experience with the world's coldness and their faith unshaken by its deceptions, should have idolized Miss Willard. Some onlookers, beholding the devoted loyalty and passionate affection she inspired in us, declared that her influence was inexplicable on natural grounds; that she possessed a kind of occult magnetism none might resist who came within its influence. But it was not so. It was but the power which a great soul, full of the spirit of Christ, must ever wield over its fellows. And it is this power which has made Frances Elizabeth Willard the organizer and leader of the womanhood of her time and the commanding figure of this century.

Miss Willard was a leader, not a despot. The fatal weakness of many great minds is their inability to abide the judgment of the majority. They see with clearness an end to be reached and, failing to convince the slower minds around them, ride roughshod over all objections. Not so with Miss Willard. She believed that in the long run the wisdom of the many exceeds the wisdom of the few. When she could not carry her point by force of argument she yielded her own judgment to that of her coworkers. Such conduct served to strengthen her influence, for her own "sweet reasonableness" induced reasonableness in others.

One great source of Miss Willard's influence lay in her enthusiasm. It is common enough for young people to start out in life with lofty ideas of what they are to do to make the world better. It is also common for these same young people, after a few years' struggle with that long-established firm, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," to lose heart and even to question whether conditions can ever be materially improved on this planet. Miss Willard never lost the youthful ardor which looks upon the world as a great battlefield where brilliant victories await the brave and true of heart; which believes that a glorious destiny awaits humanity, not alone in

the world beyond, but here on this old earth. Essential elements of such enthusiasm are faith in man and trust in God. These Miss Willard possessed in the highest degree. "Never forget," she used often to say, "that people are at heart well-disposed and kindly intentioned." In her loving and charitable thought the most sordid, degraded human personality still held the germs of divinity which divine influence could nurture into heavenly growth. She therefore addressed all men with the confidence that there were none so indifferent or so selfish that they could not be reached by appeals to their nobler nature. Her trust in a loving Father who ruled the world in righteousness never knew a doubt. No mathematical demonstration established a clearer certainty in her mind than that

> Right is right, since God is God,
> And right the day must win.

No wonder that she applied herself with an enthusiasm which burned out her life to the betterment of "woman's sad estate." Enthusiasm is contagious. Miss Willard imparted it to all around her, from the little band of schoolgirls who loved her as few teachers have ever been loved to the army of women, gathered from all climes and races, who loved her no less than did her college girls.

Another of Miss Willard's characteristics which was essential to her success as a leader was her insight into the signs of the times. She was not one of those who, having eyes, "see not" as God's great facts unroll before them, and who, having ears, "hear not" his call to duty. It is this that explains her otherwise inexplicable choice which proved to be the crucial decision of her life. After leaving her position at Evanston numerous positions as principal of seminaries were offered her. She refused them all. At last two letters came in the same mail. One offered her the principalship of a ladies' seminary with a salary of $2,400, to teach what and as much as she should herself choose; the other asked her to become the president of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union, just organized, with no promise of a definite salary. In that first Friday afternoon talk, to which we have already referred, she said with an earnestness we have never forgotten that she

counted it one of the chief blessings of her life that she was where of all places in the world she would choose to be, and expressed the conviction that her mission was to be a teacher of girls. It is most remarkable that Miss Willard did not see in the call to educational work the call of God. Yet in spite of her fitness for that work, in spite of her love for it, in face of the protests of every friend whom she consulted, with the one exception of Mary A. Livermore, she refused the tempting position in an educational institution and chose the obscure position of a reformer in a new and despised movement. The only possible explanation of her choice is that she saw, as no one else did, the real significance of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It would, perhaps, be too much to claim that she realized the full magnitude and possibilities of the movement; but certain it is that it was never to her a mere temperance organization. In the Union she recognized her great opportunity to work for the cause to which years before she had prayerfully dedicated herself and all her powers, the advancement of womanhood. She saw in it the first attempt to unite women into an organization which should make their influence an appreciable power. The world had long been reciting the pretty sentiment, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." Miss Willard knew that it had never been anything but a sentiment, and she saw in this movement of women a means by which that hand should be enabled, not to rule the world—that it has never aspired to do—but to obtain its rightful share in ruling the world. She saw that the army, called into existence by the ravages of the saloon upon the home, could with proper leadership be arrayed likewise against every other evil which threatened the home and strikes at our civilization. She saw in it, too, a great educational agency in which women should be trained for the wider sphere that a better civilization was to give them. It was this conception of the scope and meaning of the movement which gave such breadth to her plans. It was this which inspired her "do-every-thing policy." It was this which caused her to pick up every woman with a mission upon whom she could lay hands and attach her, mission and all, to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It was this which has made

that organization the power it is to-day. It is this broadness of vision which crowns Frances Elizabeth Willard one of the greatest leaders of the race.

Through her gentleness, her sympathy, her charity, her toleration of the views of others Miss Willard disarmed hostility to an extent seldom equaled by one so aggressive in her purposes and methods. Yet she did not altogether escape the bitter opposition and unjust criticism which are always the lot of the reformer. She was too far ahead of the generality of mankind, she stood too high upon the mountain-tops of vision. "I came not to send peace, but a sword," were the words of One who well knew that the breaking down of old, effete customs, the overturning of long-established prejudices, must bring strife so long as this world should be a world of progress. There are always those, even among Christian people, who are so narrow of view that they have only suspicion and dislike for one, however saintly his life or noble his work, who crosses their own peculiar prejudices. Such people treated Miss Willard as a dangerous innovator, "sure to turn the world upside down." They belittled her work and disparaged her powers. Fearing that her success in any cause would give strength to other causes of which they did not approve, they gave her the most grudging help at best, sometimes even threw obstacles in her way. One of the most beautiful things in Miss Willard's character was the way in which she forgave and excused such treatment. Though keenly sensitive to unkind criticism, though she longed for "the good words of the good," she carefully covered her own hurt, and never, even in private, returned railing for railing. Great enough to recognize as allies and coworkers those who agreed with her on one subject only, she was also great enough to forgive those who counted her an enemy because she differed with them on one point alone.

The last great task which she set herself was to save the Woman's Temple of Chicago for the White Ribboners. At the Buffalo convention it became evident that unless a special effort were made the Temple must be lost. Miss Willard therefore gave up her plan of going to England for a few months' rest, and dedicated her fifty-ninth year to the Temple.

In the early days of her illness she talked to her physician about it. He said to her, "If you will get well we will have a grand rally and raise the money; but the first thing is for you to get well." "No," she said, "I think you will do it better if I don't get well." In a letter to her white-ribbon host, signed with her dying hand, she thus expresses her feeling of the importance of the work:

> Much more is pending in this enterprise than might at first appear. . . . Money has come from every quarter of the globe to help raise its beautiful walls. It is the shrine of the home people, to which little children have given their hoarded coins, and toward which the aged have turned with loving hope. I do not believe we can overestimate what it would be to have the Temple pass into the hands of the brewers, as they have vowed it should, and that they would make of Willard Hall a beer tunnel.

Had Miss Willard gone to England at the close of the convention there can be little doubt she would be alive to-day. Her life is part of the price the women of this country and of the world have paid for the Temple.

"Only the golden rule of Christ can bring the golden age of man." "How beautiful it is to be with God!" Fit words to close such a life—the one, the outbreathing of her own soul's rich experience of communion with God; the other, epitomizing her whole lifework and aim. "Of whom the world was not worthy." No, for this poor sin-stricken world is never worthy of those who live and die for it. There were then no need that they should live. Christ came, not because the world was worthy, but because it was unworthy, that through his life it might become worthy. And everyone who thus gives his life for humanity leaves the world more worthy than he finds it. "O Thou who rulest above," prayed Frances Willard in her college days, "help me that my life may be valuable, that some human being may yet thank thee that I have lived and toiled." "Exceeding abundantly above all" that she dared to "ask or think" that prayer has been answered.

Isabella Webb Parks.

Art. II.—THE MONISTIC PSYCHOLOGY.

The newest form of pantheism is known as "monism." It is, however, only pantheism in so far as it includes a doctrine of God. It may be, and often is, practically atheistic. Judged etymologically monism is the doctrine which proposes to explain all being on the supposition of the existence of but a single substance. This substance might be regarded as spirit, thus annihilating matter except as a phenomenon, or, better, as an activity of spirit. In this case it would be spiritualistic monism. Or the one substance might be regarded as gross matter, in which case we should have materialistic monism with mind as mere phenomena. In either case monism would be primarily a doctrine as to substance, rather than as to theology or psychology, though these would inevitably demand an explanation at its hands. But, as a matter of fact, monism, as it is known at the present day, is professedly neither spiritualistic nor materialistic. It is an attempt to account for the phenomena of both matter and mind, and yet to avoid the dualism involved in those conceptions. It makes the attempt by postulating a substance which is neither matter as ordinarily conceived nor spirit, but which has the attributes of both, manifesting itself now under the form of extension, now under the form of thought. According to monism the materialists, the spiritualists, and the dualists are alike in error.

To science, which seeks ever to reduce everything to the most elementary conditions, this doctrine has proved exceedingly attractive; and, except a few bold materialists, most scientists of to-day are monists. Not only so, but monism is exceedingly prevalent in the thought of many Christian writers. For all these reasons it is absolutely necessary that it should be examined and weighed with all care and fairness. As a preliminary statement it must be further said that monism in the present day is scarcely distinguished from materialism—so material is the conception of this supposed all-substance—and also that it has formulated a doctrine of psychology and of theology.

Before going further it will be necessary to give the principal arguments by which monists support their contention. These of necessity relate to the systems which monism rejects, namely, dualism, spiritualism, and materialism. Dualism is rejected on the ground that there is no way of explaining how spirit and matter, which are so exceedingly diverse, can affect each other, as, on the supposition that both exist, it appears they do. Of dualism there are two forms, the first emphasizing mind as the cause of motion, the second, mind as the effect of motion. Such is the distinction made by Romanes, himself a monist, and it is probably the best possible putting of it, though we enter our *caveat* when without further ado he identifies spiritualism with that form of dualism which makes mind the cause of motion. The elements of the problem then are mind, matter, motion. When it is proposed to show that mind cannot be the cause of motion we are obliged to examine the process of reasoning. The one argument which Romanes employs is that the supposition that motion in matter considered as an effect of mind violates the scientific doctrine of conservation of energy. We condense his argument. He begins by admitting that the view he combats has the advantage of supposing causality to proceed from the mind, which is the source of our idea of causality, and not from that into which that idea has been read by the mind. Nevertheless, this does not overcome the difficulty which he experiences with the doctrine of the conservation of energy. He writes:

> If the mind of man is capable of breaking in as an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system of natural causation, the only way in which it could do so would be by either destroying or creating certain *quanta* of either matter or energy. But to suppose the mind capable of doing any of these things would be to suppose that the mind is a cause in some other sense than a physical or a natural cause; it would be to suppose that the mind is a supernatural cause, or, more plainly, that all mental activity, so far as it is an efficient cause of bodily movement, is of the nature of a miracle.

This conclusion he designates as *per se* improbable. Its impossibility he considers further on.

In order to avoid confusion let us pause here and examine

the argument as far as it has been carried. We begin with that part of Romanes's objection to mind as the cause of motion in matter which says this would be to make the mind a cause in some other sense than a physical or a natural cause; that is, it would make it a supernatural cause, and all movements of body by mind miraculous. In this objection physical and natural are taken to mean the same thing. A physical cause is a natural cause, and *vice versâ*. The mind is neither to be designated as physical nor natural, but as supernatural, and its power to affect the movements of the body miraculous. It appears then that the force of the objection lies in the difficulty which the monist feels in admitting the existence of anything besides the natural, that is, the physical; or, in other words, the monist objects, because he will not consent to the supernatural or, to use his alternative word, the "superphysical." He stumbles at the supernatural—superphysical—and at the miraculous. This objection is of force, therefore, only when one has reached the conclusion beforehand that the supernatural—superphysical—and the miraculous are incredible. But, since the mind is regarded as supernatural, if the supernatural is incredible the mind is incredible. That is, there is nothing corresponding to the ordinary idea of mind which we entertain.

This *reductio ad absurdum* is perhaps sufficient to show the futility of the argument in question. Let us try the former part of the argument, which asserts that if mind breaks in as an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system of natural—physical—causation it must be either by destroying or creating certain *quanta* of either matter or energy or both. Let us think of physical causes at work, the sum total of matter and force being always the same though changing as to locality and form. Now, is it true that the only ways in which an outside cause could break into this kind of a system would be by destroying or creating, that is, by subtracting from or adding to the matter or the energy of the system or both? It is not true. A third possibility is that the external agent might merely manipulate the matter or force or both, as they would not be manipulated were they left to themselves. Höffding, in answer to this possibility, says that a physical

movement does not change its direction except by the application of a physical force of a given strength. But this affirmation is the point in dispute. It is true that such an external agent would have to exert energy, to change the direction of the energy of the system. But it is not necessary to suppose that such energy would be either increased or diminished by such interference from without. The doctrine of conservation of energy demands that if one body in motion be interfered with by another body the loss of energy in the first shall become an increase of energy in the second. Now, if a superphysical mind could stop a rolling ball the energy of the ball could not, according to the doctrine in question, be imparted to the mind. Hence there would be no diminution in the sum of physical force, for it would remain in the ball. On the other hand, the mind energy could not be imparted to the ball, so that nothing could be added. On the supposition then which Romanes himself makes of the breaking in of an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system, no energy need be added or subtracted, but the energy would simply be given a new direction.

In fact, Romanes in his argument did not put the dualistic difficulty in its strongest form. The real difficulty is as to the way two supposed entities so wholly diverse in their attributes as mind and matter can affect each other. How can a nonphysical force in any way influence a physical force? The two forces might be supposed to be so different as to be both at work at the same time and place without interfering with each other. It does not appear as though it were difficult to conceive of mind as influencing mind, or of matter as influencing matter; but how can mind influence matter? In fact, however, it is impossible for us to conceive how one particle of matter influences another particle of matter. It is agreed among scientists that matter cannot influence matter across empty space; and yet it is also agreed that no two atoms of matter touch each other. That is, there is seeming contact, yet actual distance, between them. It is one of the profoundest mysteries of science that matter seems to affect other matter. Why then should we stagger at another mystery in the form of matter influenced by mind? In this respect

at least dualism is as explicable as monism. These considerations show that the assumption of matter moved by mind does not carry with it the consequences Romanes supposes, and that if it did, still it would prove nothing to one not already convinced of the incredulity of the miraculous and of the existence of mind. They also show that the assumption is not, as Romanes asserts, improbable *per se*.

But, having attempted to show that the assumption in question is improbable, he next proceeds with the attempt to show that it is virtually impossible. He supposes the case of a sportsman who shoots and kills a bird. The sportsman's volition is supposed to have broken in upon the otherwise continuous stream of physical causes by modifying the molecular movements of the brain in a way to make the aim correct and the gun to discharge at the right instant, by converting the gunpowder into gas, which propelled the lead which killed the bird. The first change in the material world—the brain—was very slight; but owing to the intricate *nexus* of physical causality throughout all nature the introduction of so slight a disturbance is bound to exert an everlasting and ever-widening influence. The mechanical processes of the bird's body, its animal heat, its power to condition other mechanical changes in other lives, its power to propagate its kind with all the physical changes this must have carried with it—all these have come to an end as a direct consequence of the man's volition, thus suddenly breaking in upon the otherwise uniform course of nature. "Now," says Romanes, "I say that, apart from some system of preestablished harmony, it appears simply inconceivable that the order of nature could be maintained at all, if it were thus liable to be interfered with at any moment in any number of points." This argument is designed to show the impossibility of the assumption that mind can cause motion in matter. We wish first of all to determine whether Romanes means to deny that the will is free, and to assert that the will of the sportsman was a part of the chain of physical cause and effect. That this is what he means is evident from the fact that he is arguing against the possibility of an intervention by an independent cause. In other words, he here maintains that the physical system is a closed

circle into which a mind from without could not break except at the risk of introducing the utmost confusion into the system. Now, this is identically the position of materialism; and so monism is thus far materialism. But one of the strongest arguments against materialism is just the consequence of this denial of the place of thought in the system. And indeed it is an argument employed by Romanes himself. In the same work from which we have condensed this argument he sums up the materialistic position thus: "Nowhere can we—according to materialism—suppose the physical process to be interrupted or diverted by the psychical process, and therefore we must consider that thought and volition really play no part whatever in determining action." Such a conclusion he declares to be opposed at once to common sense and methodical reasoning, and he shows the truth of this judgment by a sound argument of some length. We simply turn Romanes loose against himself. The sportsman's thought and volition did or did not play some part in determining his action in taking aim and pulling the trigger. If they did not, as Romanes argues in one part of his work, then materialism is right and Romanes is simply a materialist calling himself by the name of monist. If they did, as Romanes argues later on, then the materialistic Romanes is overcome in argument and fact by the spiritualistic Romanes—not by the monist Romanes, for the argument is that of spiritualism as against materialism. So, then, Romanes has answered himself thus far by showing the unsoundness of the position that thought and volition do not affect action. Hence we conclude, whether the order of nature can or cannot be maintained if man's volition can interfere with that order, that man's volition does so interfere according to Romanes himself.

But is it true that the order of nature cannot be maintained under such conditions? What is meant by the order of nature? Let us answer the second question first. It may perhaps be safely assumed that there is nothing involved in the order of nature except the forces of nature. If they should cease to operate in their regular way the order of nature would be overthrown. If gravitation, cohesion, and chemical affinities, for example, should prove inconstant in their operation there could be no order of nature such as we now have. But it does

not interfere with the order of nature when the action of gravitation in one place is counteracted by its more forceful application in another, as when the weight of the suspension bridge is thrown upon the buttresses. Nor does it interfere with the order of nature when cohesion is called in to aid in checking the local force of gravitation, as in the cables which are employed in the supposed bridge. As a whole the system of nature is not interfered with. The forces of nature are simply manipulated. It cannot even be said that the force of gravitation is suspended in the span of the bridge. It acts just as before; but other forces have been called into exercise by which gravitation in the span does not produce its ordinary effects. But the order of nature is larger than this diminutive earth on which we live, and as yet no human volition has been able to affect this larger order. It goes on in a perfectly uniform way, uninfluenced by human action. We are beginning to reach the point where we can answer the question of the possibility of maintaining the natural-order if interfered with by the human will. The human will cannot reach beyond the earth and its atmosphere, and the order of nature in that realm beyond is in no danger from the mind of man. Nor can the human will affect the fundamental order existing even upon the earth. It cannot make or unmake gravitation nor any of the other forces which are operative in the natural world. The most it can do is to change the direction of these forces, and this it can do only by a law of compensation. Thus the order of nature is maintainable on the supposition that human volition can interfere, for that interference is limited. But if by the order of nature is meant that which would be were man not on earth, then it is plain that man has changed that order. He does it every time he destroys or plants a tree, or cultivates a wild plant until it is fit for the flower garden, or dams a stream and turns a watercourse, or builds a house, or weaves a web of cloth and makes a garment. With the order of nature in this sense man's volition is constantly interfering, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. Nay, more; even from beyond our earth and its atmosphere come additions to its *quantum* of matter and force without any perceptible change in the fundamental order.

Numberless meteors fall into our atmosphere. Those which reach the earth's surface and those which do not alike add to the earth matter and force which did not originally belong to it. But the earth swings in its orbit and rotates upon its axis as before, and the action of none of the laws of nature is seriously interrupted. We conclude, therefore, that the monistic argument against dualism is altogether inconclusive.

We are met at the very threshold of the monistic psychology by the fact that there are two distinct tendencies in monistic circles, the first being represented by those who are inclined to idealism, the second by those inclined toward materialism. In English Romanes is a fair representative of the former, and Paul Carus of the latter. Because the Continental thinkers have studied the subject more profoundly and originally we prefer to take them as the standard monists, though their works are in a foreign language. As the representative of the idealistic or spiritual monists we choose Höffding, as he has presented his views in his *Psychology.* But we must guard against thinking of Höffding as a confessed idealist. He says he does not enter on the question whether it is spirit or matter which lies at the foundation of being :

> As to the inner relationship of spirit and matter we teach nothing; we assume that one substance (*Wesen*) works in both. What kind of a substance (*Wesen*) is this ? Why does it reveal itself in a twofold form ? Why is not a single one sufficient ? These are questions which lie beyond the realm of our knowledge. Spirit and matter appear to us as an irreducible twofoldness, just as do subject and object. We remove the question farther back, therefore. And this is not only justifiable but even necessary, since it is plain that in reality it lies deeper than is generally believed.

Why then does he insist on thinking that one substance works both in spirit and matter ? He gives us several reasons : (1) Because, according to the doctrine of the conservation of energy, we cannot believe the dual theory of interaction between spirit and matter. Let us consider this. According to Höffding himself the doctrine in question is one purely of physics. He makes this declaration the basis of an argument against any causal relation between spirit and matter. But in reality when he limits it to physics he limits it to the brain,

so far as psychology is concerned; and thus the doctrine says nothing about the possibility of an influence from without the system. (2) Because of a series of parallels which he has discovered between the activity of consciousness and the functions of the nervous system. He thinks it would be a wonderful accident if these parallels existed without any fundamental inner connection. But it would be easy to account for these parallels without the theory of accident, on the supposition that mind and brain mutually influence each other. And, as we have seen, there is nothing to hinder us from holding this theory, since its only support is the doctrine of the conservation of energy, which we have proved to be no support. (3) Not only the parallelisms between the activity of consciousness and that of brain, but the equivalency between them he holds to be a proof of the inner connection, or, in other words, of the theory that it is one and the same substance giving a twofold expression to itself. But, in fact, there is no such equivalency. This Romanes has clearly demonstrated, though in the interest of monism, as he supposed. Höffding seems to have confused the fact that there is a proportion between brain development and the degree or grade of consciousness with the thought of a proportion between brain activity and activity of consciousness.

Höffding also discusses the question whether there are not some mental processes which are not in any way connected with brain action, and comes to the conclusion that there are no such mental processes. We are not particular as to the settlement of this question, since, if we may suppose all mental processes connected with brain action, the question is not thereby answered as to which is cause and which effect. And in no case is it necessary, with monism, to deny causality in the relation, and to make both effects. For, as we have repeatedly pointed out, dualism as well accounts for the facts as does monism. And perhaps this is as good a place as we shall find to show that dualism is a better explanation of the twofold activity than is monism. This is unquestionably the case, once we have conquered the inveterate prejudice against the idea of interaction between mind and body. For, as Höffding says with all frankness, monism is not a complete

solution of the problem of the relation between soul and body; and this supposed inner connection is inexplicable, lying beyond the limits of our knowledge. Now, we do not pretend that dualism is a complete explanation of the relation of soul and body. That there can be any effective relation between the two is a mystery, a part of the broader mystery of effective relation between things in general. But dualism explains what monism fails to explain, while it can explain everything that monism can explain. We can best make this clear by reference to an expression employed by Höffding. He says that the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of which we are conscious in inner experience have their counterpart in the physical world in certain processes of the brain. "It is as though one and the same content were expressed in two languages." Now, we ask, Is it likely that two languages would be needed to express the same content or fact? Is it not more likely that the two languages give expression to two distinct facts? Besides, the monistic theory supposes that it is one and the same substance which speaks these two languages. It is, indeed, not unusual for one person to speak two languages, but it is an unheard-of thing for the same person to have two native languages. Yet here is a supposed substance which expresses the same fact in two languages, both of which are native to it. We affirm that it is much more natural to suppose that there are two entities corresponding to these two languages. Particularly is it more natural since, according to Höffding himself, these languages have nothing in common. They differ, not as two human languages differ, but as the languages of two beings might be supposed to differ whose attributes are mutually exclusive of each other. We fully recognize that Höffding used a figure of speech; but we have kept to the thought which his figure sought to express, and have shown thereby the improbability of monism and the probability of dualism.

We turn our attention next to that class of monists who lean toward materialism, and we take for the representatives of this class August Forel, professor in the University of Zurich, and Ernst Haeckel, professor in the University of Jena. Forel has defined and defended the monistic position with great

ingenuity in a small work of recent date, and Haeckel has published what he calls his confession of faith, in which he sounds the high praises of monism as a bond of unity between religion and science. It is a striking illustration of the fact that our daily occupations predispose our tendencies to find Höffding, the philosopher, tending toward idealism, and Forel and Haeckel, the men of natural science, tending toward materialism, yet all professing to deal with the same data and to represent the same system. Both parties have a right on the field, since monism professes to be a philosophical conception which is the outcome and result of science in its maturest shape. Of course all monists repudiate materialism in its baldest form—Carus, Forel, Haeckel, and all the rest—and we do not question their honesty of spirit. That they work into the hands of a purely materialistic view of the soul is nevertheless true.

We shall attempt to state in brief the principal doctrines of the more materialistic monistic psychology. According to Forel brain and soul are one; each phenomenon of soul has its material aspect, and each material phenomenon has its psychical, though in the main more elementary, aspect; there is no brain without soul, and no complex soul, analogous to our own, without brain; psychology and brain physiology are but two different ways of looking at the same thing. Consequently, according to both Forel and Haeckel, the investigation of the phenomena of soul belongs within the domain of the descriptive, experimental sciences of nature; the soul must be studied, not as an immaterial thing, but in the organ of the soul, the brain, since scientific psychology is a part of physiology. It should be noted here that by the brain as the organ of the soul these men do not mean an instrument which the soul employs for its purposes, but that which produces the soul. Again, they teach that the human being is not the only existence which has a soul, but that there is a soul in everything—in each atom, in each living cell of plant and animal, in the lowest, the highest, and the intermediate forms of life. As to consciousness in relation to the soul Forel is as unclear as possible. He says that the essence of the idea of soul lies in that of consciousness, which he defines as the faculty of

inner vision and of reflecting external objects in this inner vision. Yet he says that it would be impossible to prove that any activity in the world is unconsciousness, and seems to identify consciousness with attention. In one place he says that human consciousness, soul, the content of consciousness, activity of the brain, and brain matter are but forms in which one and the same thing appears, and not separable from each other, though logically distinguished by our faculty of abstraction. Haeckel is rather more clear. He says that the soul is a function of the brain, and that what we call human soul is but the sum of our sensibility, volitions, and thoughts—the sum of the physiological functions whose elementary organs the microscopic ganglia cells of our brain constitute—and he confesses that we can definitely prove the existence of consciousness only in the highest animals. In a note he asserts that the soul is a sum of plasma movements in the ganglia cells. Thus the soul is from one aspect the sum of sensibility, volition, thought, and from another it is movement in matter organized in a certain way.

Now, in accordance with the theory that brain and soul are one Forel attempts to explain sensation and other mental phenomena physiologically. He first explains that the peculiar property of the nervous system is the power to convey an excitation swiftly by a sort of wavelike movement. For the sake of brevity we shall call this wavelike movement a wave. Explaining sensation, he says that it occurs in the cerebrum, plainly at the point of arrival of the wave which started from that portion of the periphery of the nervous system which was the subject of the excitation. Here it meets with other coordinated waves and wakens countless other associated waves which, in an infinitesimally weakened form, or as one might say in a state of slumber, continue to swing on as a sort of memory of their original vigor, or which stand ready in some other mysterious way to be aroused. These traces of memory exist together in the most multitudinous, though orderly and harmonious, union, or in so-called association. The wave which wakens these slumbering or weakly swinging waves, those memories of former sensations, strengthens and changes in part the whole associated complex. The result of this is to affect other

series of complexes, partly checking them, partly strengthening them. Some of these strengthening waves result in impulses of the will, and produce movements. Having given us this powerful effort, Forel admits that, if we must approximately represent the process of thought as just given, we must not forget that there are many other forms of waves which are wholly unclear—for example, how the brain waves which result in emotion are conditioned—also that there are processes accompanied by an effort which we call attention.

This, then, is the monistic account of sensation, accompanied by the confession that it is but approximate and that the profounder contents of consciousness are not explicable. Now we call attention to the fact that this is not a description of the process of thought at all, but only of certain movements in the brain which have been arbitrarily identified with thought. The monist takes such a material view of things that he cannot see that the brain movements are one thing and the thought another. Forel could have learned from Höffding that it is purely a figure when memory is attributed to any phenomenon of the physical world. And it is a purely hypothetical account even of the connection of these hypothetical waves. It is pure assumption that waves which reached the brain went to sleep there, but continued to exist, ready to wake up when called upon. The figure of speech has nothing to correspond to it. It is another pure assumption that these original waves continue to be waves, though in a weaker measure. And it is a pure assumption that new waves have the power to strengthen weakened waves. So that, even from the physiological standpoint, we have learned nothing to the point. Yet we are told that we must not any longer study the mind in its own phenomena, but in the phenomena of brain movement. Then, too, why make this demand and at the same time confess its impossibility, as we see that Forel has done in the confession noted above? Another thing that Forel insists upon as proving the physiological character of thought is the relation of brain conditions to mental activity. He declares that the study of the brain and of mental diseases shows that when the cerebrum is injured the result is at once seen in psychical changes, though he admits that not every such injury results in serious

mental impairment. The point as to how much injury the brain can suffer without loss of mental power is not altogether settled. Carus gives a number of instances of injured brains which resulted in loss of bodily movements in various members, but in all of which the mental power remained intact. One of the instances was that of a general whose mental activity and professional judgment were left unimpaired, but who wearied easily when engaged in intellectual pursuits. Carus says that, if one hemisphere of the brain remains sound the loss of sensory and other centers in the other hemisphere will be marked only by tiring more easily than when both hemispheres are intact. But, if the theory of monism as given by Forel be true, loss of brain matter in considerable quantities ought to result in loss of mental activity in variety and intensity. That instead of this the result is quicker weariness in intellectual labor shows that the intellectual worker, the mind, is in possession of an instrument which by reason of its injuries cannot serve as long as it once did without fatigue. The intellect must give the relatively small amount of brain more work to do. The intellect remains the same, but the servant is weakened. Besides, Forel quietly assumes the facts to prove his theory, whereas they are as capable of explanation on dualistic as on monistic grounds. Let us suppose that all he says is true, and still the question would be, Is the alleged difference in mental power real or only apparent? Does the injury to the brain really decrease mental power, or does it only decrease the facility with which the intellect expresses itself? Forel assumes the former, and then draws the conclusion that brain action and mental action are practically identical. This is a circle of reasoning as perfect in its kind as the famous circle of Giotto. In fact, brain injury does limit bodily movement in some cases; but that does not prove that there is any loss of will power. The disturbance in the physiological functions is admitted, but not that in the mental functions.

It is time to turn our attention to Haeckel. His wide reputation, arising in part from his real services to science in some of its departments and in part from the natural vigor of his mind, which leads him to give forcible expression to whatever position he holds, lends his before-mentioned work an impor-

tance far beyond its ability. As a compendium of assertions and assumptions in the interest of monism it probably has no equal. But, as Haeckel is a scientist, and as scientists are popularly supposed to be very exact in statement and rigid in their demands for proof before they will accept anything as fact, his words will carry immense weight with a certain class of readers. We desire to call attention then to the fact that, whatever may be Haeckel's merits when dealing with biological phenomena, the philosophical interpretation of these phenomena is more likely to be conducted properly by one whose life is devoted to philosophy than by one whose field of research has been the material realm. On this point David Friedrich Strauss, whom Haeckel calls the greatest theologian of our century, is correct when he says:

> Philosophy alone, considered as metaphysics, is able to furnish the ideas of energy and matter, substance and phenomena, cause and effect, those finest instruments with which the student of nature hourly operates; it alone can teach us how to apply them with logical correctness. The scientist can receive from the hand of philosophy alone the Ariadne clew to the labyrinth of the daily increasing mass of observed facts; and philosophy alone can furnish the scientist with the only possible information in the regions which contain the questions of beginning and end, limitation or limitlessness, purpose or accident, in the world.

Had Haeckel heeded this suggestion his attempt to construe the world from a philosophical point of view would have been, to say the least, more modest. Let the reader, therefore, not be prejudiced in favor of Haeckel's philosophy; for Haeckel is not a philosopher but a scientist. Let Haeckel furnish the facts, and let philosophers interpret them. As we have already said, Höffding, the philosopher, interprets the facts quite differently from Forel and Haeckel, the scientists.

We have given Haeckel's description of the soul. We now give Höffding's estimate of Haeckel's view:

> One sometimes meets in the utterances of physiologists who have some philosophical education the statement that the activity of consciousness is a function of the brain. It appears, however, as though the strictly physiological use of the expression "function" must contradict such a statement. That, for example, contraction is the function of muscle says nothing but that it—contraction—is a given form and condition of muscle in movement. . . . Muscle in function is as material as muscle in

rest, and what does not possess the attributes of matter cannot be the form of activity of anything material. The idea of function in the physiological sense points, as truly as the idea of matter or product, to something which meets us in the form of space as an object of perception. Thoughts and feelings cannot be represented as objects in space or as movements. We learn them—thoughts and feelings—not by external perception, but by the sensibility of self and by self-consciousness. . . . By many roundabout ways it is finally discovered that certain phenomena of consciousness are connected with certain definite parts of the brain. And there is no doubt that the highest activities of consciousness have their corresponding brain functions. . . . But the action of consciousness and the functions of the brain we constantly learn to know by means of different experimental sources. Materialism overreaches itself by obliterating this essential distinction. By giving to brain the power of consciousness—that is, by making consciousness a function of brain—or perhaps even making the brain the subject of the manifestations of consciousness, the materialist returns to the mythological fantastic standpoint.

These words were written to oppose materialism. But in this respect there is no difference between materialism and Haeckel's monism. Both make the soul a function of brain.

That Höffding and Haeckel, the philosopher and scientist, disagree is further evident from additional remarks of the latter. Says Höffding, commenting on the preceding quotation from his *Psychology:* "We have in mind here more especially empirical or phenomenological materialism, that is, that view which makes it a result of experimental science that the phenomena of consciousness are forms or effects of material phenomena, so that all reality may be reduced to motion in space." We pause in the quotation to show that this is just what Haeckel does. He says, "The neurological problem of consciousness—note that he assumes that consciousness is a neurological problem—is only a special one contained in the all-comprehensive cosmological problem, the problem of substance. If we had an understanding of the nature of matter and force we should also understand how the substance which forms their basis could, under given conditions, feel, desire, and think." And in another part of the same work he says, "The facts of consciousness and its relation to the brain are not less and not more puzzling than the facts of seeing, hearing, gravitation, and the connection of matter and force." As quoted before, Haeckel declares that the soul is a sum of plasma movements

in the ganglia cells. Here he plainly speaks not of the equal degrees of mystery. He identifies the mysteries of consciousness and the mysteries in the physical world. Now hear what Höffding has to say to the view in question.

> Even if he [the empirical materialist] were right in all his assertions, still he constantly overlooks something which raises a new, and to him an alarming, problem—the fact, namely, that motion in space is known to us only as an object of our consciousness. From the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, therefore, such ideas as consciousness, representation, and perception lie deeper than the ideas of matter and motion. . . . What we have here tried to do is, however, not to point out the inconsequence, from the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, which [empirical] materialism is guilty of by the demand that consciousness shall recognize as the absolutely original and only real, that which is given only as an object of consciousness, and which can only be represented and known by the activity of consciousness itself. Our object here, on the other hand, is only to determine what view the given compels us to take; and the result of our criticism of materialism is that it sins against the very ideas we gain from experience.

We must now briefly note several other points. For example, Haeckel's description of the soul as the sum of mental states or of physical movements makes no provision for our consciousness of personal unity. It denies the existence of a unit in the soul, and so fails to explain how we have a sense of unity or can be aware of a multiplicity. This is possible only to an individual. For example, it would be logically possible to an atom-soul, but not to a complex brain-soul. Again, monism denies the freedom of the will. Says Höffding, "Psychology, like every other science, must be deterministic; that is, it must proceed on the supposition that the law of causality includes the action of the will, just as it assumed that it includes other phenomena of consciousness and material nature." Such, indeed, is the doctrine of all monists. It is true they do in some cases speak of the freedom of the will; but by that they mean freedom to do what one wills, not to will freely. And some of them, like the materialists, claim that the doctrine of freedom in its usual form is incompatible with the preaching of morality. But, in fact, if our choices are necessitated in any true sense of the word, then we all labor under a tremendous delusion. But the quotation we

have just given from Höffding contains an allusion to a third point which we cannot leave unnoticed. It is the expression about each and every phenomena of consciousness as included along with material nature under the law of causality. This is the old materialistic doctrine which denies freedom even to our thought. And here, as there, it cannot be allowed without destroying the validity of all thought. For if one thought is necessitated every thought is also. Hence when we think differently from others their thoughts and ours have equal value for truth; that is, no thought can be said to be true or false. Again, monism as truly as materialism finds no place for individual immortality. Carus discusses at length the question, Is death a finality? and gives it a negative answer. He even speaks of the immortality of the soul. But the careful reader will see that it is not the immortality of the individual, but of the father and mother who, though they die, live in their children. It is strange he did not recall those numerous human beings who are destined to live celibate lives, and those other numerous husbands and wives who have no "life after death in the coming generations," because nature affords them no offspring, or whose progeny become extinct.

The monists are loud in their professed renunciation of materialism. And no doubt they are honest. But it is strange they do not see that their path is the same in all essential respects as that of their declared foe, and that at the end of the journey they therefore reach the same goal. And, finally, monism does not do away with the fact that there is a dualism between mentality and matter. It only changes the relation they sustain to each other. Thought and extension have the same mutually exclusive character as in dualism, only these mutually exclusive somethings are regarded as two ways of looking at one self-consistent substance. We have seen that it is more natural to suppose that two such wholly unlike phenomena are the aspects of two wholly different substances, and cannot resist the conclusion that as between dualism and monism in psychology the former has taken the more tenable position.

Charles B. Rishell.

Art. III.—"HAMLET"—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

The whole range of literature furnishes nothing more difficult than the intelligent study and interpretation of "Hamlet." It is a strange, weird, and subtle work. It has been styled an enigma of character; but it is more than that, it is a mystery baffling all attempts to a complete or generally accepted solution. Here are blended "the heartaches" and the thousand natural shocks flesh is heir to, human infirmities, human afflictions, and supernatural agency. Here are intertangled questions of melancholy, pathology, metaphysics, and demonology. Here are thoughts of life, death, the secrets of the grave, the dread hereafter, the dreams it may bring, and the illimitable and well-nigh omnipotent powers within us. Here the student of intense thought, of earnest love, and of superior grasp of imagination is thrilled by more than kindred inspirations; and sometimes he is even visited by dreams and is not unblessed by visions. Here on every page are disclosed vast treasures of knowledge and lines of reflection that "sadden the heart, cloud the mind, and fire the brain."

It is not easy to measure the magnitude and complexity of the work. It is difficult to describe a great mountain, the thousandth part of whose surface cannot be traversed or seen in an hour, while in its bowels are inexhaustible quarries and mines. The resources and mysteries of "Hamlet" will account for the extent and variety of criticism and interpretation. The number of commentators is well-nigh illimitable; they are of many countries, every grade of society, men bred to different vocations and living in different generations of the world's history. But all these many attempts to reveal its treasures have failed to quiet the questionings of intelligent students. We venture to say that criticism will never be complete until some master spirit like the author himself shall be breathed through the commentary. So ideal and so real an existence as Hamlet cannot be shadowed forth by the critic's pen. Yet it is highly proper that every generation and every student should attempt his own interpretation. By becoming lost in its mazes of thought we realize more of its wealth, and

gain loftier conceptions and a deeper insight into the wonders of human nature.

"Hamlet" is the leading production of the leading class of Shakespeare's compositions, and differs in some respects from all others. The tragedies to which it belongs differ from the historical plays in that they are chiefly conceived of from the standpoint of thought and feeling. In the tragedies we are concerned with what man is; in the histories, with what he does. The tragedies treat of the infinite issues of life and death, the historical plays of the finite issues of failure and success and the achievements of practical ends. The former deal with the deep mysteries of being; the latter, with a real and firm grasp on the actual world. So there is a like separative gulf between the tragedies and the comedies. The former are concerned with the ruin or restoration of the soul, their subject is the struggle of good and evil in the world; the latter in comparison play upon the mere surface of human life, and scarcely reach the real depth of human experience. But even among the tragedies there is a sense in which "Hamlet" stands alone. While it is of the same order as "Othello," "Macbeth," and "King Lear," it is not of the same substance or essence. "Hamlet" differs from others emphatically in this, that it is the study of an individual life. The heart of the composition is not the representation of a theory or of an idea; it is not a fragment of political philosophy, nor the dramatic study of some period in the history of civilization, but it is the expression of the author's profound sympathy with an individual soul, a representation of the individual man, not men; and for that representation the wonderful creation came into being. It is the sum of the musings of the great author on the life we live here. And so the essence of this play, and especially of its hero, is the human soul, mind, reason, understanding, will-power, and passion.

This then is clear, that the play of "Hamlet" is Hamlet. There are other not insignificant characters. Horatio is the scholar, the perfect gentleman, the untarnished life, the faithful friend. Claudius is a man of no ordinary cast; some of his speeches have a ring of majesty in them. Laertes is not without commendable traits of character. Ophelia is sufficient to

fill the eye, and to make the heart beat and tremble within itself. Even Gertrude has some redeeming touches of nature. But the whole plot hinges upon the character of Hamlet. It has been well said that the author's conception of him is the "*ovum* out of which the whole organism is hatched." When he is on the boards our interest is intense, and we are satisfied; when he is off we are impatient. From his acts and feelings everything in the drama takes its color and pursues its course. This play, more than any other production from the pen of Shakespeare, exists, awakens interest, challenges criticism in the character of its hero. In the other dramas the story makes a part of the conception, but in "Hamlet" the deep and abiding interest is Hamlet himself. We love Hamlet not because he is witty or melancholy or filial, but because he is himself; because he is an intense conception of individual human life, and because he is a being whose springs of action, thought, and feeling are deeper than we can search. In him is concentrated all human interest, the elements of frailty and of grandeur. Let us study then, as best we can, the hero; let our thoughts cluster around this individual life. Let us consider him as if he were a real character, present to the eye as well as to the mind, a recently deceased acquaintance.

When introduced into the drama he is supposed to have been thirty years of age. In personal appearance Goethe would have us believe he was a fair-haired, blue-eyed youth, and, inasmuch as the fencing wearies him and he becomes easily heated by exercise, that he must have been well-conditioned, or, according to the queen's remark, "fat and scant of breath;" that his melancholy, alleged inactivity, soft sorrows, perpetual indecision, lack of determination and resolution necessarily demand the complexion and temper here indicated. But we are disposed to figure to ourselves a princely form, one that outshone all others in manly beauty, and to adorn it with all liberal accomplishments. We can behold in every look and gesture, every action, the future king,

> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, and sword;
> The expectancy and woe of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion and the mold of form,
> The observed of all observers.

When Hamlet first appears everything is to his praise; although there is evidence of natural melancholy there is no predisposition to morbid feeling or faulty temperament and no question of sanity. He is the esteemed of Fortinbras, the friend of Horatio, and the beloved of Ophelia. During the life of his father he is sheltered from any rough contact with the world, as well as restrained therefrom by natural tastes. He has lived through youth and come into the years of manhood, and is still a hunter of the university, a student of philosophy, an amateur in art, and a ponderer on the things of life and death; and it may be said he has never been compelled to form a resolution or execute a deed. He has passed these years in manly thought and manly arts; his habits have been those of retirement, study, and meditation. He has been at school at Wittenberg, and the hint that he is to return thither shows with what ardor and enthusiasm he surrenders himself to the intellectual research. But in all this devotion to study and to the university, as Mr. Hudson has said, he has kept undimmed the vision and faculty divine which nature has planted within him. So that he still apprehends more things in heaven and in earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy. In activity and force of intellectual powers, in breadth and variety of acquisitions, and in ardor and enthusiasm of research he is superior. Morally he is upright, honest, pure. His aims are lofty, his motives and impulses generous. He seems to have been in an unimpassioned search for what is beautiful and right. Up to this time he has been sheltered from the active world where human nature reveals itself as it is; and, as he has been accustomed to think and judge of the world by the honesty and purity of his own spirit, he has not yet found in men or in the world anything to bar or quench his impulse of trust. His strong-willed, self-reliant, and affectionate father has been to him an ideal character, and whatever ideas and images of beauty and strength he has gathered from study he associates with his father's name. He has borne the relation of son, prince, gentleman, scholar, lover, and friend, and has endeavored to be true to all these relations and to approve himself accomplished and capable. His expectations are such as to kindle and enlist his

noblest powers; his plans and preparations for life are to succeed his father on the throne. Thus, when he first appears in the drama he stands before us a richly endowed, generous, pure nature—one of lofty aims. Fortune has smiled upon his pathway. In his inheritance, education, social position, royal connection, and expectation he is a prince of fortune.

Before we proceed to inquire after the further developments and tendencies of his life we must here consider the effects of this education and this previous training. First, they serve to make Hamlet more conversant with ideas than with facts. It is said that Romeo loses sight of facts because everything melts away into a delicious emotion; but Hamlet expands and transforms everything into an idea. It would seem that up to this time he has received every kind of culture but the culture of an active life. Perhaps Shakespeare meant to show, as Coleridge suggests, "the moral necessity of a due balance between our attention to objects of our senses and to the working of our own minds, so that an equilibrium may be preserved between the real and imaginary worlds." In Hamlet this balance is disturbed; his thoughts and the images of his fancy are far more vivid than his actual perceptions, and even his natural perceptions are changed into unnatural forms and colors when brought under the influence of contemplations. There is great intellectual activity, great energy of resolve, but an aversion to some forms of real action. This aversion has usually been attributed to a natural disinclination to do, a mere theoretical education, and to subsequent paralyzing environment of his life. We shall inquire, a little further on, if this view does not need modification. A second defect in his education is found in an impaired capacity for belief. Belief is in part the result of will-power, and that he has not well developed. He seems unable to adjust the finite and the infinite. He has great difficulty in his attempts to make real to himself the actual world. Actual phenomena flit before him as something accidental and unreal. Sometimes the mistaken notion has crept into the world that the material hinders, does not help, belief. We all recall how at times Hamlet wavers between spiritualism and materialism, between his belief in immortality and unbelief, between a reliance on Providence and a yielding to fate.

In the presence of the ghost a sense of his own immortality and spiritual existence grows strong within him. When left to himself he wavers to and fro. Death is a sleep, it may be troubled with dreams. In the graveyard, in the presence of human dust, the base affinities of our nature seem to possess for him a great charm. His mind wanders hither and thither, at times seeming incapable of certitude. This we know is more true of him in the early conflict than further on.

We come to study the environments of Hamlet and their effects upon him. No man is independent of his surroundings, no man can escape entirely from the influence of the world about him. There is no such thing as naked manhood. Not only no man liveth to himself, but society lives for or against him. No man is independent of the social and moral conditions under which he lives and acts. Hamlet, as Professor Dowden makes clear, is identified with two groups of characters which have much to do with his development. The first group is the king and queen. He is summoned from school on the occasion of his father's death. When he first stands before us his father has been dead two months. His mother has been the wife of Claudius one half that time. He is surrounded with shows and words of mourning. Moral purity and moral sensitiveness intuitively detect something wrong. He is soon satisfied that all is hollow and false. It is not long before he sees signs of dark intrigue and conspiracy; his sensitive nature not only feels that there is something wrong, but that every possible effort is made to make him the victim of deception. He is alone and solitary in the midst of the court. He could have borne the loss of his father, though that were a severe shock. His mother is still spared to him, or rather to life. Had she died too he could have retained his normal condition of mind. But in her hasty marriage he reads a tale of indecent and criminal passion. His anticipation of the kingdom is canceled, his hopes of succession are gone. He now becomes a man of sorrow and wounded feeling. Life becomes a burden to him, and were it not for the work to be done he would be rid of it, rather than cherish it as a blessing. When Marcellus exclaims, "Something is rotten in the State of Denmark," Hamlet feels that all is rotten. "The whole

head is sick, and the whole heart faint." On the throne where his revered father had sat is the mere appearance of a king—a wretched, corrupt, and cowardly soul—as Hamlet describes him, "a vice of kings," "a villain," and a "cutpurse," "a paddock," "a jib." And what is the queen? She is one of two women of whom Hamlet must judge womanhood. For thirty years she had been the wife of his father, a husband upon whom

> Every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man;

one who in the place of penance still retains his solicitude for her. But Hamlet now sees that in all these years she had borne his father no true love; her love had not been founded upon the essential, but upon the accidental. She had evidently never known what is the bond of life to life, of soul to soul. Then it is that a feeling of disappointment, shame, and disgust are thrown back upon him; and, after suffering a while self-suppression and struggling with it, he "impacks his heart in words," and permits acrid answers, a morbid humor, and a wounded, irritated nature to find expression. His first great soliloquy will show the weariness of his spirit, the burden of his heart, and the crowding, swarming thoughts of his mind. Here we see his excited mental condition. The tedium of life has overtaken him. He seems to feel that if the base affinities of our nature could only melt away like the mist upon the mountain side, then the vile things of life would be gone forever. Life here is stale, flat, unprofitable, an unweeded garden, and if

> The Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter—

evidently the burden would cease to be borne.

A second group of characters are introduced in Act i, Scene 3. It consists of Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia. They have their influence on Hamlet, and are made to reveal more completely his individuality, and a fuller analysis and development of his own life must be realized from his relation and feeling toward them. Of this second group of characters let us first consider Polonius. Hamlet has been accused of cruel, if not causeless, aversion—we may say antipathy, even hatred—toward Polonius. Hamlet's representation of Polo-

nius is not flattering, and has led to a partially incorrect representation of his own real character. True, there is not much to commend in Polonius, but he is not the mere doodle, not a mere driveling caricature of methodical, prying, garrulous, blear-eyed, avaricious dotage. If not better, he is at least stronger, than that—something more than a mere anile buffoon. Polonius in his time must have had a fair share of worldly wisdom, cunning, and strength, but he has become somewhat superannuated. He is now a sort of venerable ruin, haunted with the specter of departed abilities. He is already living in the past, without knowing it. He knows that he was once strong, and is not conscious of developed weakness. Dotage has already encroached upon wisdom. As Dr. Johnson aptly says, "He is knowing in retrospect, but has no foresight." To use the figure of Coleridge, he is "like the light in the stern of the ship that illumines only that part of the course already traversed." He has had much experience, but has lost the power of applying his experience to any pressing, passing emergency, and so is practically weak. Polonius is therefore incapable of understanding Hamlet, and his attempts to approach him, or explain him, or pry into him, or use him, are but so many revelations of his own weakness. Polonius is not governed by any high philosophical principle. "His honor and honesty are of the courtier's measure, and are more of the serpent than of the dove." He is a master of indirect means of getting at the truth. He revels in the mysteries of wire-pulling, trap-setting, and cunning craftiness. His morality is seen in the first scene of the second act. Reynaldo is set as a spy over the conduct of his son, upon whom the parental blessing had been bestowed so tenderly a short time before. It is evident that the father does not expect morality of an ideal kind from the son. He expects the boy to sow his "wild oats," and if he will return from school an accomplished cavalier, a master of fencing, able to finger the lute, Polonius will treasure up in his heart, not discontented, his "wild slips and sallies." He says some wise things, but his wisdom is never the outflow of a rich, deep nature, but the accumulation of a long and superficial experience. His wisdom consists of set maxims, such wisdom as might be set down for the headlines of a copybook.

Not only what his character was, but what he probably and really was, to Hamlet must be considered. Polonius being the confidential agent and adviser of the king may have had a hand in diverting the course of the succession. Again he is Ophelia's father, and as such has enjoined her not to keep company with Hamlet. Perhaps properly enough, but paternal prudence rarely escapes the resentment of disappointed lovers, and the ambiguous epithets used by the Danish prince show that he was not an exception. But, what is still worse, Polonius betrays his purpose of "pumping" Hamlet. This purpose he pursues by a maneuvering imbecility that rendered his age contemptible for its weakness and odious for its indirection. It is not strange that between the time-serving, patient, and deceptive Polonius and the impatient and open-hearted Hamlet there should arise an utter antipathy and that Hamlet should throw dust in the dim, prying eyes of the old counselor while living, and not unnatural—though we do not say justifiable—that after, in a feverish flash of excitement, he had "stabbed him like a rat behind the arras," he should pour out upon his carcass the same scornful irony.

The second member of the second group is Laertes. Between Hamlet and Laertes there are one or two points of comparison. Both are young and advantageously related. Both have been absent at school, ostensibly at least seeking intellectual culture. Both manifest warm and filial affection. Each has lost a father, and that, too, by foul means, and both are seeking revenge. But between them there is the boldest contrast. Hamlet has the highest sentiment and principles; Laertes has no moral scruples. Hamlet has an overweight of thought; Laertes is sadly superficial. Hamlet is evermore revolving in his mind the deepest and darkest, the most far-reaching and significant problems; Laertes sees in life no special significance. Hamlet thinks and afterward, if at all, acts; Laertes first acts and then thinks, if he chooses to indulge in thinking. Hamlet sees many reasons for delay in the execution of significant deeds; Laertes is unembarrassed by results. Hamlet analyzes his motives, and is therefore cautious; Laertes is without introspection and foresight, and is therefore reckless and little more than the victim of his

own destructive impulses. Hamlet hesitates and shudders at the thought of what may come as the result of deeds performed; Laertes simply burns with feelings of resentment and revenge. Hamlet's feeling of friendship in its fidelity and sacredness is akin to worship; Laertes is incapable of the real possession and worthy manifestation of this virtue. Hamlet is the student of philosophical Wittenberg; Laertes attends school at the French capital, so dear to the average sensual man. We know from Hamlet's soliloquies what questions occupied his thoughts; what lessons Laertes learned in Paris we may judge from the conversation of Polonius with his servant Reynaldo. Surely there can be nothing in common between Hamlet, meditative, philosophical, sincere, honest, lofty in thought, pure in purpose, noble in sentiment and feeling, and Laertes, of superficial accomplishments, "theatrical chivalry, and show gallantry."

The third member of this group is Ophelia. The feelings of Hamlet for Ophelia and his treatment of her are very difficult of interpretation. Of Ophelia the critics are accustomed to say the most beautiful things. Mrs. Jameson, with all her marvelous buoyancy and brilliancy of style, speaks of the good and fair Ophelia, too fair to be cast among the briers of this everyday world and to fall and to bleed upon the thorns of life. She portrays for us her mute eloquence, her exquisite delicacy, her deep love and her deeper grief, her helplessness, and her innocence. Ophelia is to her "like the strains of some sad music that comes floating by on the wings of night and silence; she is the exhalation of the violet dying upon the sense it charms; like the snowflake that dissolves in the air before it has caught a strain of earth; like the light surf severed from the billow, which a breath disperses."

Mr. Hudson, who in powers of analysis of Shakespeare's characters is of commanding ability, thinks that the author's genius appears angelic in its steps and tones of purity, reverence, and human-heartedness as he delineates the character of Ophelia. The distinguished critic seems almost lost in his musings upon her pathetic sweetness, her perfect simplicity, the perfect whiteness of soul which he sees manifested in

her, upon the spontaneous beating of her heart in unison with the soul of nature, upon the incense that arises from her crushed spirit as she "turns thought, affection, passion, hell itself, to favor and to prettiness." If the reader fully sympathizes with these critics in their estimate of Ophelia we would be sorry, were it in our power, to dispel his pleasing impression of any party so innocent as Ophelia. But to our thinking the defects of Ophelia are either overlooked or underestimated. There is here a lack of energy of feeling, of imagination, of will; there is an incapable sweetness and gentleness of heart, a timidity and self-distrust that impair the symmetry of character. Professor Dowden has given us a more correct estimate of Ophelia, and of what she was and was not to Hamlet: "What is Ophelia? She is a tender little fragile soul, grown into her maturity in some neat garden plot of life. What can she contribute to the deliverance of Hamlet from his brooding thought, melancholy, and weakness? Nothing whatever. Hamlet needs a vigorous, self-reliant, and strong nature. He has fallen into the too common error of supposing that a man gains rest and composure through the presence of a nature weak, gentle, and clinging. This is a mistake Hamlet finally learned, and the discovery bitterly disappointed him." A little study of Scene 1, in both Acts ii and iii, will show this to be true. After his letters had been repelled and Ophelia's presence had been denied him, he determined once more to see her and to hear her voice. He discovers Ophelia sewing in her closet. Ungartered, pale and trembling he rushes into her presence, seizes her hand, "then goes to the length of all his arm" and with his other hand over his brow "falls into such a perusal of her face as he would draw it." He cannot utter a word. Then follow the significant gestures, and a sigh rises from the depth of his spirit. He feels that all is over; Ophelia is to him without virtue or strength. He now in an agony of sorrow realizes that she is incapable of receiving what he has bestowed, and therefore cannot return what his heart craves. He now knows that she can neither receive nor give gifts of the soul. They may exchange tokens of love, but not love. And so Hamlet is compelled to say, "I never

gave you aught." He cannot give what she is incapable of receiving.

The treatment of Ophelia by Hamlet has been much criticised. We do not attempt to justify it. It has, however, its explanation. To Hamlet's soul, already shocked by the suspicions of the general falseness and foulness of the entire court, such suspicions as he could not resist nor repress, there is suddenly added the appearance of the ghost. It comes to make revelations so terrible and to impose burdens so great that they could not be entertained had they not come to him from or through a supernatural agency. The influence this royal shadow had over the mind of Hamlet must be seen both from the manner and degree with which it impresses us and the method in which it executes its mission. Though the production would possess great powers without this supernatural element, yet we all know that it throws over the composition a preternatural grandeur without which it never could have had the universal ascendency it has so long possessed. The popular remembrance of the words of the ghost show how deeply they have sunk into the souls of humanity, and disclose the realness of its appearance. It must therefore not be treated as a mere illusion. The age in which Shakespeare wrote, the nature of dramatic representation, the very idea of poetry which deals with symbols realized by the imagination require that the apparition shall be regarded as a real though unobjective existence. Accordingly the appearance is authenticated with the most matter-of-fact exactness. The reality of the appearance is unquestioned, and this exactness of representation adds greatly to its force. It is produced before several witnesses, Horatio and the rivals of his watch. The details are worthy of the most careful study. Observe the chill night, the dreary platform, the routine of changing guard, the plain courtesy of the soldiers, the incredulity of the scholar, the imperfect narration interrupted by the entrance of the royal shade, the passing to and fro of the "perturbed spirit." Never was a majestic spirit more majestically revealed. See the shadow of its kingly grandeur and its warlike might. It passes before us sad, silent, and stately; its words are solemn and slowly measured; the discourse is of

an unearthly cast and temper. The speech is ghostlike, and blends with ghost conceptions. Everything leads to breathless expectation. Happily has Mr. Hudson said that "when the vision is gone the intense excitement of the spectators subsides into a fine rapture of poetical inspiration; the spell thus left upon them gently preparing us for the deep entrancement that is to be wrought in the hero."

Having thus seen what was the nature of Hamlet, what the education and its effects were, what his environments were, and what the revelations made to him, we pass to notice that transformation of Hamlet to which these things lead and the results of that transformation. To Hamlet there has been made a great and awful disclosure. His worst suspicions and surmisings have been confirmed. He is in a world where most is false, dishonest, and foul—a world of the utmost moral disorder. Not only so, he is commissioned to restore order, to make wrong right; the revelation of an overwhelming duty has been added to an overwhelming disclosure and calamity. The field of thought and philosophical study must yield now to the sphere of practical activity. The transition is unexpected, sudden, sharply defined, and complete. Will the speculative, contemplative, theoretical mind be equal to the emergencies of practical executive work? What shall be the effect upon a fine, generous, and just nature of human vileness suddenly unveiled and a corresponding human responsibility suddenly revealed? This brings us to study the subsequent mental condition and executive abilities of our hero. First, then, follow a morbid humor and gloomy depression. Keep in mind what Hamlet was by nature and education—a delicate soul; an impassioned, imaginative nature; a confiding and generous spirit, full of ethereal breathings, occupied in noble thoughts, and apt in bodily and intellectual exercises; not viewing from the throne to which he was born aught but the beauty, happiness, and grandeur of human nature and of humanity. But his spirit is now deeply wounded, his soul somewhat poisoned by the appalling disclosures made to him. Even before he sees his father's ghost his mind is morbidly occupied with but one set of reflections. The indecorous marriage of his uncle with

his mother absorbs all his thoughts; sorrow contracts around his soul and shuts it out from cheerful light and wholesome air. He loses his mirth and becomes weary of the world and of life, as his first soliloquy shows. The shams made to deceive so honest a nature but deepen his grief and depression. After he has seen and heard the apparition and received his commission there follow more violent contortions of feeling, and his sensitive nature is well-nigh the victim of disgust and despair. The extent of this transformation may be clearly seen from the manner in which he now looks at the world, and also from his own utterances. As Taine has said, he tinges all nature with the color of his own thoughts, and shapes the world according to his ideas. His soul is now sick, and sees but little in the universe except what sickens. His utterance in the churchyard, as he repeats the gravediggers' jests, and those made over the grave of Ophelia further illustrate this morbid, melancholy spirit.

But we must notice more especially his intellectual activity, his excitability, and, if you please, his productiveness. Let us not suppose that any degree of mental deficiency should result from his melancholy broodings. The concentration of his thoughts on one line of action and the consequent sense of moral obligation entirely protect him. The most discriminating and exacting criticism has always credited Hamlet with superior intellectuality. If there is any disproportion in him it is because of an excess of intellect. In his first soliloquy there is something almost infinite in his emotions and thoughts. His thoughts travel beyond the known and confront the unknowable. Then the depths of his nature are first manifest, and thereafter he floods every scene with intellectual wealth. He pours forth large stores of wit, poetry, philosophy, moral and practical wisdom. He does all this, too, without effort, does it with all the ease and fluency of a native impulse. His ideas roll out upon us like waves driven before the wind. The redundancy of his thought is replenished from its own original springs and overflows without exertion. The activity of his mind is stimulated by the strain to which it is subjected. The problem of embarrassments which he tries to solve, the perplexities that entangle his pathway, the work that is given him to do, all

seem to account to a greater or less extent for those deep beholdings of men and things, that wonderful fullness and celerity of thought, those dartings of intellect, those electric sparks which characterize his utterances. They illustrate the greater achievements and practical value that may arise from a conflict with the world. Had Hamlet remained in philosophical Wittenberg, or had his environments been those of his choosing, the world would have known nothing of the possibilities of his mind. The disclosures made to him were productive of the highest excitability. Indeed, there was a perilous tension of his whole nervous system. To receive the revelations of the ghost, to conceal them from those about him, to satisfy himself of their reality, and to indulge the purpose of executing the commission make his teeth chatter, his knees knock together, excite his thoughts, and heat his imagination until his will-power seems unequal to the emergency and he is well-nigh beyond self-mastery. As examples of perilous mental excitement observe his language succeeding the revelations of the ghost and his conduct when the piece is played to unmask his uncle.

We cannot further explain Hamlet's conduct than to answer one question, that vexed question of all periods of criticism, "Was his madness real or feigned?" We answer, "Feigned." It is true his whole being is shocked; there is disorder in his soul, a disturbance in his mind; there is a shaking of his powers; there is an ebb and flow of his feelings not subjected to calculable impulses, but he is not mad. Ophelia and Lear are mad, not Hamlet. He assumes an antic disposition for self-protection. He is aware of his violent inward commotion, and must seek some disguise which shall both conceal his distemper and yet give egress to his crowding thoughts and emotions, and at the same time, while he is unaccessible to others, make him the unobserved observer of their conduct. We are aware that this is an expression of dissent from some recent criticism and many recent utterances of medical science. But the theory of real madness would destroy that intellectual sovereignty in Hamlet which for the most part has always constituted his exaltation. Shakespeare never could have meant that we are to bow to a mind which we must pity, and it is not consistent to suppose that he would subject his leading ideal

character to such a "mournful mortal infirmity." Neither could he have supposed that Hamlet for a moment should cease to be a free moral agent. Look upon him on all great occasions, witness his conduct in his mother's closet, and listen to his dying words, and then ask if there was any disease or madness in his soul.

We must now approach one more disputed question, the effect of Hamlet's disposition and experience upon his executive powers. The more prevailing theory has been that his active powers are paralyzed by an excess of intellect, that he is made for meditation, not for action. Goethe tells us that his soul is unequal to the great deed assigned him. "Here," says he, "is an oak tree planted in an earthen vase which should have received into its bosom only lovely flowers; the roots spread out, the vase is shattered to pieces." Schlegel tells us that the whole play is intended to show that a calculating consideration cripples the powers of acting, and that here is manifest the hero's weakness. Coleridge thinks that to Hamlet is given such an overbalance of the contemplative faculty as to destroy natural powers of action, and that in his mind there is no equilibrium between the objects of sense and the world of imagination. The favorite doctrine has been that the thinking part predominated over the acting, that he was great in speculation but weak in performance. We are told that as Romeo's resolutions melt away into emotions so Hamlet's melt away into ideas. These criticisms have left a popular impression that Hamlet's character was one of effeminate softness and amiable weakness. Any dissent from these great critics may seem presumptuous, but since they are not in entire harmony among themselves and are at variance with others, and the character of Hamlet is beyond full comprehension, we may modestly state dissenting convictions. The predominance of intellectuality is unquestioned, but we feel that full justice has not been done to the heroism, will-power, and executive ability of our hero, and that he is much nearer a symmetrical man than the popular criticism would have us believe. For this conclusion the following reasons are suggested: (1) It is not consistent to suppose that Shakespeare would develop an ideal character so unsymmetrically as to personify weakness

and inefficiency. (2) His strength and heroism are too manifest to be overlooked. Surely timidity of mind, the fragility of a china vase, lack of power and energy are not his characteristics. Hamlet is fearless, almost above the strength of humanity. "He does not set his life at a pin's fee." "He converses unshaken with what the stoutest warriors have trembled to think upon." He jests with a visitant from the spirit world, and gathers unwonted vigor from the pangs of death. (3) His will-power is manifest in his converse with the ghost and in forming a purpose and adhering to it to the end. There were delays, it is true, but the most formidable motives account for them. In spite of all the outward and inward discouragements to which he was subjected he never forgot that duty. (4) His capability for vigorous action should not be questioned. He promptly meets and addresses the ghost; he breaks away from his friends when it beckons him; he triumphantly executes the scene of making the king's "occulted guilt unkennel itself;" he is the first to board the pirate; he stabs Polonius through the arras; he suddenly alters the sealed commission and sends his schoolfellows to the headsman. He acts with great energy, decision, directness, skill, and felicity of event. Nothing undertaken against Hamlet succeeds save murder, and that may succeed against any man; and whatever he undertakes succeeds save the ghost's commission.

But why does it not succeed? Why is this delay? Let us examine the perplexities of Hamlet, and perhaps we shall see the source of his irresolution. There are two motives to incite action, justice due a murderous and incestuous king and filial reverence. There are many more motives to restrain his hand. The work is of great magnitude; the manner of its performance is not predescribed; it is made known through irregular means; there is a preternatural contraction involved in the duty itself. Mr. Hudson has most forcibly expressed this perplexity:

> Hamlet naturally supposes the work to be payment in kind—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But from Hamlet's view is this right? It is nothing less than to kill at once his uncle, his mother's husband and his king, and this not in a judicial way but by assassination. How is he to justify himself, how vindicate himself from the very crime he is

to punish? Upon what evidence is he to establish the righteousness of the deed? He cannot subpœna the ghost to satisfy others; its testimony is available only in the court of his own conscience. To serve any good end the deed must stand in the public eye as it does in his own, else in effect he will be setting an example of murder, not justice, and the crown will seem to be his real motive and duty a pretense.

Hamlet comes into a contention with the great powers of the world, yet he must preserve himself in them and use them to the destruction of another. To the high intellectual and moral nature there is something of repugnance in the use of such powers. Added to this there is some skepticism as to the evidence upon which he must act. The ghost may be a counterfeit, a diabolical illusion walking about in the likeness of his father, "making night hideous," to scare or tempt the living.

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be a devil; and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape.

There has been much curious criticism upon the skepticism of Hamlet after becoming so completely absorbed in the revelations of the ghost, and these revelations were confirmed by catching the conscience of the king; but when we recall their preternatural contradiction, the popular belief in evil spirits, and the canceling force of Hamlet's inward misery there is nothing unnatural in it. While mere brute force or mere physical heroism would not pause before such exigencies, moral heroism and spiritual insight will pause, and the pause or irresolution of Hamlet is proof of his superior nature. He has that moral courage that recognizes and weighs moral motives.

In interpreting Hamlet's action or lack of it we must keep in mind his "large discourse, looking before and after;" we must have regard to his moral or religious convictions and insight. To determine what they were, the theology of the whole play, and especially that of the hero, must be studied, but cannot be within the limits of this article.

W. F. Whitlock

Art. IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF THE CIVIC IDEA.

The civic idea is rapidly diffusing itself under our very eyes. The accumulating tendency which exists in man to become both orderly and free is being displayed to the modern world, while historians stand by to make a record of what has been done. The forms of the city or State which from the beginning have been elements of the human animal are so rapidly being worked out that it seems as if the destiny of the race were hastening to complete itself within a single hundred years. The civic movement is an original dynamic, and some consideration of its history now may be pertinent to the time spirit.

In his march from a savage state to civilized life man first appears as a hunter, secondly as a shepherd, and thirdly as a farmer. During all these stages he is profoundly religious. A religious plasma, as it were, envelops him. Whether as a Jew or Mohammedan he believes in but one God; whether as a Greek or Roman he believes in many gods it matters not. What concerns us is the fact that in all cases man is crushed and weighted to the ground with the burden of all-pervading Deity. From the innermost recesses of this religious protoplasm issues forth the tendency we have noted, namely, the overpowering desire to build about himself the city or the State or some form thereof. Of all the potencies in man's nature which religion causes to burst forth this is the most powerful and aggressive. He can no more resist it than the duck can resist the impulse to swim or the bird the proclivity to fly. Hence appears the justification of the profound observation made by Aristotle, "Man is by nature a political animal."

The political instinct appears much stronger in some races than in others. All share it, but in some, or at least in one, it outruns every other tendency. The evolution of the civic idea will therefore be most fortunately observed among such people as have in their progress shown the highest political capacity. In the history of the world the Aryan or Indo-Germanic race—the race of the Greeks, the Romans, the

Germans, and the English—occupies this position. We first see this race some two thousand years before Christ as a united community in the western part of Asia. It is profoundly religious. Its members passed their lives half demented with terror, for every appearance of force in nature was to them a manifestation of Deity. Thunder was the voice of God. When the sun shone God smiled. When it hailed he was angry. The anger of Deity must be appeased, otherwise man will perish. If a cancer appears in the body it means that a god is eating the flesh; therefore offer this god fresh meat of a better kind. Hence, sacrifices. Thus we have a glimpse of our Aryan forefathers in their primitive home. Increase of population drove them out of Asia in quest of new abodes. The first body which broke off passed between the Caspian Sea and the Black. It settled portions of western Europe and the British Isles. The world knows them as Celts. Later on there broke forth the Teutons, and still later the ancestors of the Hindu nation. From the Aryans who remained at home were built up the Medes and Persians. Thus from India to the west of Europe this race spread itself, and hence the name, "Indo-European."

The most conspicuous unfolding of political life in the Aryan race begins with the Greeks. It is followed later by a similar unfolding among the Romans. From the most perfect specimens of any age or epoch we learn the nature common to all. Therefore the evolution of the civic idea properly begins with the Greeks and Romans. Among them the self-consciousness of man in politics constitutes the most significant beginnings of political life. Let us then begin with the beginning from which the political idea emerges. Let us examine the Greek and Roman religions. Never did the Aryan race believe that death ended all. From the outset there has been a firm confidence that a second existence began the instant the first was ended. But this belief took no forms of foreign bodies or worlds. Reincarnation was undreamed of. So were heaven and hell. Theosophy was not yet born. Rewards and punishments did not require additional planets for their operation. They are all modern notions. These ancients believed that the soul remained with

the body, went into the ground with it, and continued to live under ground. "*Sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum.*" The authorities upon this point are overwhelming and conclusive: Vergil, Ovid, the two Plinys, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, Plutarch, Varro, Tacitus, Juvenal, Homer, Demosthenes, Hesiod, Sophocles—in fine, the body of classical literature is an attestation of this fact. In Vergil's magnificent poem we behold the funeral of Polydorus ending with these words, "We inclose the soul in the grave." It was the universal belief that the man actually lived there, and the expression *hic jacet*, "here lies," still survives as a monument of the fact. The primal object of burial was to give a place of abode to the soul. Unless the body was buried or entombed the soul had no dwelling place. It became a wandering ghost malevolent and unhappy. Flitting about the homes of the living, it would curse the lives and blight the harvests of those whose duty it was to have performed the burial rites and made the periodical offerings. Furthermore, the dead were held to be gods. Cicero in his second book on "The Laws," declares, "Our ancestors desired that the men who had quitted this life should be counted in the number of the gods;" and in his time the people were ordered by the law to sacrifice for the ghosts of the dead in the month of February. Our belief in ghosts is merely what is left of the ancient manes, or ghost faith. Believing the dead to be gods—good, if cared for, evil, if neglected—caused a complete religion of the dead to become established; and the civic forms which grew out of it endured until the revolution made by Christianity.

The first of these forms is the family, over which the power of the deified dead man extended. It alone had the right to worship him and thereby secure his protection of the family property. Hence the old law, "The inheritance follows the worship." From this came the conclusions that the inheritance could never pass into the hands of those who could not worship; that is, it could never go out of the family. Here then we plant our feet upon bedrock, the civic unit of ancient society, the first political form in which the human animal appears Just as the individual is the unit of modern society,

so was the family the unit of the ancient. Society was not in primitive times a collection of individuals, but society was a union of family groups, an aggregation of families.

Our study up to this point has reached this result, we have found the civic unit of the primitive world. Our work for a time becomes comparatively easy. The unit having been discovered we may readily follow its combinations. It is almost a process of political geometry. Little by little the conception of deity becomes enlarged, and with the enlargement there comes a corresponding expansion of the objects with which divine benevolence is concerned. Although it is impossible for any one god to protect more than one family, in severalty, nevertheless, a number of families may unite and form a new group, and over this new group a new divinity may extend his special protection. It is the new group taken as a whole, not the families as such within it, which the new god protects. This civic form the Greeks called a *phratria*, the Latins a *curia*. Each phratry and cury had a common meal, a common sacrifice, a common worship, and a common government. Later on in the same way phratries and curies united, and the next civic form, the tribe, came into being. And every tribe had a common meal, a common sacrifice, a common worship, and a common government.

There is no limit to the expansion of the human mind. The tribe stands in the evolutionary process near the point of beginning. That man, outside of the tribe, should have no rights protected by deity seemed an anomaly to the expanding intellect. That there should be no deity who cared for more than one tribe seemed to be equally an anomaly. In other words, we see all along the line that man was creating his own gods, and as the beliefs of men enlarged just so much were increased the jurisdictions of the various deities. The gods were the embodied beliefs of men, only men did not know it. The same expanding belief that first called for a union of families, secondly of phratries and curies, in process of time calls for a union of tribes. Men now conceive of a god whose providence embraces several tribes at once, and a new organization is formed; the city comes into being. Nowadays a city is the result of growth—a few houses, a hamlet, a village, at last a

city. The ancients, however, founded a city all complete at once. Whenever the civic forms already mentioned consented to unite and set up a common worship the city charter was framed; when the common sanctuary was erected the city was constituted. It was a confederation of groups, and not a union of individuals. Every city was independent of every other. Between two cities nothing common could exist. Marriage was hardly possible, and children born of such a marriage were generally deemed bastards. No man was a Greek or Italian, but an Athenian, Spartan, or Roman. Families united in phratries or curies; these, in turn, united into tribes, and tribes again into cities. But cities never united into States or nations. Why was this? Could not the human mind in its god-making capacity conceive of a deity benevolent enough to protect two or more cities at once? Undoubtedly it could. Any kind of god could be made to order. We have already seen proof enough of this. The difficulty lay in the physical impossibility of city unison. Could all the Athenians and all the Spartans worship around one central fire, eat from a common table? Could sacred bounds be annually perambulated and lustrated, and yet include all the territory of Athens and Sparta? Plainly they could not. Yet, if the cities of Greece were to unite in a single State all this sort of thing would have to be done. To form a new group under the ancient law required in every case a new worship about which all the members of the group to be formed could periodically adore; a new eating table at which periodically all the members might partake of a common meal; and a new series of sacred bounds inclosing all the land belonging to the new group and within which bounds all the members of the group must be located. This, of course, was absolutely impossible. Therefore cities were the limits of group expansion. For cities to unite was never thought of. For them to have done so would have been to break up the whole order of ancient society.

For these reasons the civic idea comes to a halt in the course of its development. Apparently the final form of society has been reached. The human animal seems to be crystallized. Centuries passed after Rome was founded; yet neither Greeks nor Romans dreamed of uniting several cities. A few tempo-

rary alliances took place, but never a union. Religion forced every city to be such a body that it could never be joined to another. Isolation was the law of the city. It is no wonder then that the ancients considered patriotism to be the supreme virtue. Outside of the city, beyond the sacred walls, man was without a god and shut away from all moral life. The ancient citizen loved his city as he loved his religion. He knew how to die for it, for to his country he owed his life. For his altars and his fires, *pro aris et focis*, he fought literally, knowing that if the enemy took his city his gods were destroyed and all for him was lost. Hence the greatest punishment for crime was exile. Exile placed man beyond the reach of religion. "Let him flee," were the expatriating words, "nor ever approach the temples. Let no citizen speak to or receive him; let no one admit him to the prayers or to the sacrifices; let no one offer the lustral water." The exile was thus cut off from his religion and his god. It is not surprising then that almost all the ancient cities permitted a convict to escape death by flight. Exile did not seem to be a milder punishment than death. The Roman jurists called it capital punishment. The exile could not flee into another city, for the gods of every one but his own were hostile to him. The worship of one city was forbidden to men of a neighboring city. A profound gulf separated them. Each was independent by the requirements of its own religion. Each had its own law code, since each had its own religion and the law flowed from the religion. Each had its own money, its own festivals and calendar. The months and years even were different. Each had its own weights and measures.

The founding of a city was always a holy act flowing from the religion thereof. Religion compelled every citizen to regard the founder as a god. His act was held to be divine, and he was for a city what the first ancestor was for a family. He located the place where the city's sacred fire should forever burn. The citizens worshiped him after his death, and every year performed sacrifices over his tomb. We know that Romulus, the founder of Rome, Hiero, of Syracuse, Naleus, of Miletus, Miltiades, of Chersonesus, and hundreds of others were worshiped as founders of their respective cities. Æneas,

the holy man, the founder of Lavinium, whence came the Alban fathers and the walls of lofty Rome, is the keynote to the great poem of Vergil. He kept alive the sacred fire, and carried the worship of Troy through Thrace, Crete, Sicily, and Carthage, until the fates permitted him to set it up in Italy. "*Tantæ molis erat, Romanam conderegentem.*" The late Professor E. A. Freeman speaks most acutely concerning this final civic form of ancient life:

> At a few miles from the gates of one independent city we may find another, speaking the same tongue, but living under different municipal laws, different political constitutions, with a different coinage, different weights and measures, different names for the very months of the year, levying duties at its frontiers, making war, making peace, sending forth its ambassadors, and investing the bands which wage its border warfare with all the rights of the armies and the commanders of belligerent empires. . . . In such a system it is clear first of all that the individual citizen is educated, worked up, improved to the highest possible pitch. Every citizen is himself statesman, judge, and warrior.

In Greece, between 500 B. C. and the time of Alexander's death—the period when the splendor of civic life was at its height, and during the space of two centuries—twenty-eight of the most illustrious men the world has seen appear before our view. Of orators there were Æschines and Demosthenes; of historians there were Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; of poets, Anacreon, Æschylus, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes; of philosophers and scientists there were Pythagoras, Socrates, Hippocrates, Euclid, Plato, and Aristotle; of architects, sculptors, and artists there were Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles; of statesmen and commanders there were Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Epaminondas, Phocian, Pericles. Referring again to Freeman:

> Many a man who has a high natural capacity for statesmanship is, in a large State, necessarily confined to the narrow range of private or local affairs. Such a man may, under a system of small commonwealths, take his place in the sovereign assembly of his own city and at once stand forth among the leaders of men. In a word, it can hardly be doubted that the system of small commonwealths raises the individual citizen to a pitch utterly unknown elsewhere. The average citizen is placed on a far higher level, and the citizen who is above the average has far more

favorable opportunities for the display of his powers. This elevation of the character of the individual citizen is the main advantage of the system of small States. It is their one great gain, and it is an unmixed gain. Nothing can be so glorious as the life of one of these cities while it does live. The one century of Athenian greatness, from the expulsion of the tyrants to the defeat of Ægos Potamos is worth millenniums of the life of Egypt or Assyria.

We have stood on the highest mountain peak of civic life in the ancient world. Let us now move forward in time a few centuries to the so-called great revolution made by Christianity. It has been commonly asserted that Christianity came and with a mighty blow overthrew the religious foundations of ancient society. It did nothing of the kind. Christianity was merely the final blow of a series, or one may call it the end of a series, of revolutions. Christ came, not to destroy, but to fulfill. Just as in the launching of a ship, where everything is ready, the final blow sends the vessel leaping into the ocean's arms, so did Christianity cause pagan society to fall with a crash. But the way had been made ready before. The ancient city was held together by faith in the city religion. As fast as this faith weakened just so far did the city become unstable. Christianity did not appear until the city had been overturned by a number of revolutions. These revolutions may now pass before us, as it were, in a succession of dissolving views. Political authority is first taken from the kings. At Sparta, Athens, Rome—in short, in all the ancient cities—a similar procedure takes place. Rome is a typical instance. Romulus, the first king of Rome, is assassinated in the senate house, while Numa, the second king, dies in his bed. Tullus Hostilius, the third king, is destroyed by a thunderbolt, while Ancus Martius, the fourth king, dies in his bed. Tarquin, the fifth king, is assassinated. Servius, the sixth king, is murdered, while the second Tarquin, the seventh Roman king, is dethroned, and royalty abolished. In short, the history of the seven kings of Rome simply tells this story: Religion said, "The king must unite in himself both Church and State;" the expanding civic idea said, "No! The Church is one thing, the State is another." We can almost hear Christ's after command, "Render unto Cæsar." Certain

kings attempted to draw the distinction and make the severance. At once religion murdered them. But the revolution succeeded. The free intellect won, and the first blow is struck. Next comes the dismemberment of the ancient family. The right of primogeniture disappears, and the ecclesiastical nature of the family is destroyed. Next the clients become free. In this work Solon was the great pioneer. He himself says:

> It was an unhoped-for work. I have accomplished it with the aid of the gods. I call to witness the goddess mother, the black earth, whose landmarks I have in many places torn up, the earth which was enslaved and is now free. Those who in this land suffered cruel servitude and trembled before a master I have made free.

Now comes the revolt of the plebs, and we see the plebeians, the common people, enter the sacred city. The very idea seemed monstrous. In Rome, Livy says, "the heavens were on fire, specters leaped in the air, and showers of blood fell." The real prodigy was that the common people were actually making the laws. Lastly, the aristocrats are thrown down and democratic government is set up. The gods no longer control the election of officers. The auspices are consulted only on the condition that they will be impartial toward all the candidates. Thus it has come to pass that the constitution of the sacred city has become subverted, and the city itself exists only in name. We can now understand the meaning of that wonderful expression, "the fullness of time." Christianity appears and deals the final blow. During all these centuries the way has been preparing.

Can we not now comprehend precisely what has happened up to this point? Early society was first set up on a religious dogma that every god protected one family only. Then came a series of expanding groups, ending with the city, and each city had its own protecting divinity. In every city law, religion, and government were three sides of one thing. To the city every man was bound soul and body; outside of the city no civic or religious life was possible, and exile was worse than death. Then came the revolutions caused by the inevitable expansion of humanity. Blow after blow is dealt to the city founded on the ancient religion. The city falls, and Christ

appears just when the fields are white for the harvest. A god is now proclaimed who has no chosen people and who regards neither cities nor families. The starving multitudes, to whom it seemed that deity had spurned them forever, now find a common Father. Paul says to them: "We all [are] baptized into one body." "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all." This shows to every man the unity of the human race within the fold of God, and it follows as a matter of logic that men cannot remain within that fold and continue to hate each other.

Thus we have gradually climbed to the top of the great divide which separates ancient from modern society. We are now ready to go down on the other side. What logic tells us must happen does happen. The principle which hitherto has kept societies separated from one another is destroyed. In its place has come a new tie, which tends to bind all men together. We may therefore expect to see the civilized world which is bound by this tie at once begin to cohere into one great whole. This is what does take place. The Christian community which Christ founded in Asia Minor gradually transforms itself into an immense ecclesiastical organization claiming the right to govern temporal affairs and to a certain extent seeking to reunite law and religion, thereby ignoring the distinction which Christ commanded to be made. It is known in history as the Holy Roman Empire. The traditions of the departed empire, that of the Cæsars and the Antonines, had exercised a stupendous potency upon the minds of men. The idea that in Rome was vested the right to rule mankind forever remained in full force after Rome's self-abnegation was complete. The idea of Roman monarchy became more universal. The local center was gone; the idea was no longer connected with the city, but it continued over as part of the existing order. The barbarians themselves did not wish to destroy the power of the Roman name. Bryce says that "the thought of antagonism to the empire and the wish to extinguish it never crossed their minds. The conception of that empire was too universal, too august, too enduring." They believed that, as the dominion of Rome was universal, so must it be eternal. For fourteen

generations Rome had embraced the most wealthy and populous regions of the civilized world. The belief in her eternity had been the unquestioning faith of her people, and was voiced by her scholars, her orators, and her poets.

> His ego nec metas rerum
> Nec tempora pono:
> Imperium sine fine dedi.

It was a matter of common faith and acceptance that when Rome should come to an end the earth itself would perish. Hence, neither Roman, Frank, Lombard, nor German believed in the dissolution of the empire, although they saw its corpse before their eyes. The capture of Rome only brought into being a new maxim, "*ὅπου ἂν ὁ βασιλεύς ᾖ, ἐκεῖ ἡ Ῥώμη.*"

But Rome had left two Elishas behind her, her Church and her law. As the old empire fell to pieces the belief in its eternal dominion, which conquerors and conquered shared equally, seized upon these witnesses. These alone were left, and to them faith was extended. The Roman law was made the tribunal of last resort. All men were judged by it who could not be proved subject to some other. Side by side stood the Church and the law. It was the Church that became the foundation of the new order. The idea that Rome's domination must last forever was the accepted creed of all men. But it must needs be that this idea should locate in something, should settle upon some institution. Thus it happened that the Christian Church became the object of settlement; the famous forgery of the "Donation of Constantine" was produced, and the Holy Roman Empire began its marvelous career. On Christmas Day, A. D. 800, in the city of Rome the pope placed on the brow of Charlemagne the imperial crown of the Cæsars, and then knelt before the Teutonic chief. Thus was the Western Empire restored to again reign over Christendom, sharing its sovereignty conjointly with the papacy until far down into the Middle Ages. A world monarchy and a world religion are the ideals sought to be attained. Rome had left behind her her Church and her law. Out of these, by means of the most majestic legal fiction recorded in human annals, a vast Christian monarchy is set up whose sway is absolutely universal. This comprehensive

society has two chiefs, each ruling, by divine right, as direct vicegerent of God—the Roman pontiff and the Roman emperor—the one administering law to its spiritual character as a Church, the other to its temporal character as an empire. Each chief by hypothesis is supreme in his own sphere of action. "Under the emblem of soul and body," says Bryce, "the relation of the papal and imperial power is presented to us throughout the Middle Ages. The pope, as God's vicar in matters spiritual, is to lead men to eternal life. The emperor, as vicar in matters temporal, is to control them in their dealings with one another." Both the Church and empire are two sides of one and the same thing. The famous forgery to which we have alluded was to the effect that Constantine, when he forsook Rome for Byzantium, bestowed upon the pope the sovereignty of the Western Empire. For some centuries this falsehood received the credence of mankind. So that the pope when he made Charlemagne emperor was merely perpetuating the authority of old Rome, already admitted by men to be eternal. And, inasmuch as the pope was securely seated in the chair of St. Peter, this additional authority from Constantine gave him a double right to connect the emperor's title deeds with the Almighty's throne. Henceforth the ultimate sanction of law, the final tribunal of disputes, is to be sought in one or other of these two chiefs. If the question is temporal the emperor, whose power excels in dignity all the kings of the earth, makes final decision. If the question be spiritual the pontiff is the arbiter of last resort. Frederick I writes to the prelates of Germany, "On earth God has placed no more than two powers, and as there is in heaven but one God, so is there but one pope and one emperor. We have now reached modern times. The Church and State are separated, probably forever. Religion no longer through force of law seeks to dominate temporal and secular affairs. The civic idea for the first time in human history is free from religious control. What is to be its future development?

Up to this point we have strictly followed the facts of history. If these facts indicate any inferences fairly to be drawn therefrom it is now time to see what they are. First, let us remember that, although the Church has lost her legal control of

human government, she has in nowise lost her power of ethical direction. The obedience which formerly was compulsory is now freely rendered. It needs no argument to show that voluntary submission is far more effectual than any obtained by force. And we know that at no time in the world's history has the Church been stronger than she is to-day. What, then, is to be the outcome? When may we expect to see the groups which now constitute civilized society form themselves into one group which shall embrace them all? When shall we behold the world-State, having for a spiritual center the universal Church—an organization in which civilization is the sphere of activity, freedom and order the objects of attainment, while the Church of Christ posits the spiritual initiative? This may appear to be a dream of the unattainable, but let us not fear to behold the direction in which we are moving. Mankind has become aware that there is such a thing as the universal conscience. The substantial abolition of the slave trade is a direct proof in point, if proof be needed. When this universal conscience shall take on an external form—and the time must arrive when it will—we have nothing less than the universal Church. The abhorrence in which the oppressors of Armenia, Cuba, and other States are held by general humanity shows an ethical sentiment possessing only cosmic limitations. If this world-Church demands a world-State in which to act are the signs in that direction also less indicative? During the nineteenth century the civic idea has developed with tremendous rapidity. All over the globe States and nations are becoming free, independent, and self-conscious. Nearer and nearer are the nations coming to one another. More and more is arbitration settling the disputes which heretofore have been settled by war. More and more is it being felt that only a common organization of the world will suffice as an adequate remedy for many existing evils.

If there be a unity of the human race—and for nearly nineteen hundred years the Christian world has published the declaration that there is such a unity—then this unity must manifest itself outwardly, must take on an external form. This form is required both by logic and psychology. Throughout the range of human effort unity of object and of ideal

sooner or later insist on a common organization or a unity of external form.

Must not the world organize itself into a universal State? Particular nations would still retain their autonomy as now, but matters of universal concern can only be completely handled by a universal government. The duty of such a State would be to maintain the peace of the world, to protect the commerce of the world, and to execute the judgments of international law tribunals. There would thereafter be no more Bulgarian outrages or Armenian atrocities, because the first formal complaint of trouble would bring the matter in dispute before an international court of law, and the armies and navies of the world would stand ready to execute the decrees of the court. The civic idea having taken on the form of one grand civic State, matters of civic importance to one part would become of importance to all parts. Art, literature, and science would find expression for the various forms of common humanity.

The rapidity and instantaneousness of communication brought to pass by steam and electricity have located all civilization within the metes and bounds of a neighborhood. Unconquerable time is moving on, and ultimately will place over this neighborhood a common government.

Geo. Howard Hall.

Art. V.—THE ATONEMENT AS A FACTOR IN DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

The mission of Christ to this earth it is impossible to define. We cannot affix limits to the divine purpose, measuring the exact scope of the lifework of Jesus of Nazareth, determining positively and negatively the results of his death. We sum it all up in the two words "redemption" and "salvation;" but to what extent human destiny is thus controlled is a problem whose solution baffles our powers. Had man remained sinless would we have known God in his triune nature? Would he have been as fully revealed to us as he has come to be in the incarnation of Christ and the dispensation of the Spirit? There are many questions that arise which we cannot answer, but enough is revealed for our guidance in the path of life.

The Bible treats of the coming of Christ to this world wholly in connection with the fall of man, his loyalty to the divine government, and death under the law. Paul in writing to the Romans states the mission of Christ in these words: "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." To the Galatians he says, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, . . . that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." And to the Ephesians he affirms, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." But is the grace here spoken of God's act in the atonement? No; for the salvation is through faith, and the atonement was purely a divine act preceding our faith and in which we had no part. Did the death of Christ change our relations to the law? If so, in what respect? Did the Son of God die to render a satisfaction to the law? We answer this last question by saying that punishment never satisfies the law. Obedience, and obedience only, meets the end for which the law is prescribed. Penalty necessarily inheres in law, but of itself it does not fulfill the law, but is intended to operate as a restraint from acts the law forbids. The punishment of the criminal does not make the law whole; it does not wipe out the score, restoring the conditions existing previous to the

commission of the crime. The law is vindicated but not satisfied. Punishment meets a demand of the law violated, but not the purpose of the law in its establishment. If Christ had not come to this world, and all men had died because of disloyalty to the divine government, God would have been just, and the sacredness of the law would have been maintained, but the purpose for which the law was given would not have been realized. The law would have been a failure. The supreme Ruler under principles of equity could not do otherwise than inflict the penalty prescribed, but the penalty suffered is an eternal witness to sin—an object lesson to the whole universe that the law had failed to accomplish its purpose, that the end it sought to secure had not been reached.

If the punishment of the guilty does not secure the purpose of the law, but rather is inflicted because the purpose was disregarded, then certainly the death of Christ for man, "the just for the unjust," does not satisfy the law, does not restore that which was lost, does not make the broken whole. The law did call for the death of the sinner, and it calls for the death of the sinner to-day as loudly as before the cross was planted on Calvary. And if the atonement was God's last act in our behalf eternal death would be a certainty from which there could be no rescue.

If the foregoing principles are valid the death of Christ in itself was not substitutional. He did die that man might live, but he did not die in man's place. If he did die in man's place, then as a result man would be exempt from death, and universal salvation would be an accomplished fact. Can there be substitutional punishment, or, in other words, substitutional suffering of the innocent for the punishment of the guilty? If the purpose of the law is to secure the fulfillment of its requirements the penalty visited on an innocent party has no bearing on the disobedience of the guilty. After such suffering has been endured the law is not mended, nor is the guilt of transgression lessened. It is logically unthinkable that in the administration of law the innocent can take the place of the guilty in satisfying the demands of the law. If allowed, it is extrajudicial.

If the substitutional theory falls to the ground there goes

with it the collateral theory of equation of suffering, that the Son of man in his death endured in intensity and amount a degree of suffering equal to that from which the race was delivered by the sacrifice which he offered. Aside from the substitutional fallacy it would involve a definite amount of guilt on the part of the human race—in harmony with the doctrine of predestination, perhaps—and a fixed measure of penalty not subject to increase or decrease. Still further, this fails to take into the account the character of the offering made. But the whole theory is built upon a foundation which has no place in the divine government. Some of our hymnology teaches very faulty theology, as

> Jesus paid it all,
> All the debt I owe.

Our indebtedness is not canceled, our obligations are not lessened. The death of Christ did not wipe any stains from the soul, or obliterate guilt, or restore us to divine favor, or change our relation to the law that had been broken.

But we may ask, Did Jesus die for us? Yes. Would we have been saved had he not died? No. Could God have saved us without the death of Christ? No. Did the atonement save us? No. How then are we saved? Purely as an act of grace, through the sovereign mercy of God. Because of the atonement the supreme Being extends pardon to the sinner. Can this be safely done? We must not forget that the divine government must be a government in which there are no elements of weakness; nothing can be allowed which will detract from its strength. It is conceded that the most dangerous prerogative a sovereign can exercise is the pardoning power. Law would in the highest sense be a terror to evil-doers if every criminal should be arrested, convicted, and punished. The greatest weakness of human governments for practical restraint of evil grows out of the failure to bring the offender to justice. If all persons tempted to commit crime knew that there was no escape from righteous and adequate penalty for violation of the law of the State in the administration of justice crime would be reduced to a minimum. No sin, not even the slightest infraction of the divine law, can escape the eye of God; hence on the principle of equity he can

make his administration perfect. Justice cannot fail in his hands. When he says the sinner shall "surely die" it is the declaration of a truth that cannot be evaded. But this would be an administration of death, not working for obedience, but bringing in an eternal reign of suffering, as "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." Thus it is either death or pardon; there is no other alternative.

But a proclamation of pardon for all past and future sins to anyone who should ask for it, simply as an act of administrative prerogative, would not only weaken God's government, but completely overthrow it. Removing all restraints, law would be practically annulled and right would lose its binding force. If the sinner is to be pardoned it is necessary that the law shall not become any the less rigid or binding in its application to every human being; it must not have any less terror in it. The thunders of Sinai must not be silenced or muffled. Nothing that is necessary to good government must be surrendered. Not a compromise even, parting with the lesser in order to secure the greater good. God's plan for the government of the race proposed to save man while yet the law should remain intact, as binding as at the first on every life, and without the setting aside of any of its penalties or the lessening of its terrors to the transgressor. What was done? In the Bible record we find that in order to reach and save man God became incarnate, Christ was born into this world as the babe of Bethlehem; as God manifest in the flesh he put himself under the law, kept it in every iota, thus proclaiming its justice and infinite importance, submitting even to death upon the cross, inflicted by wicked men because of his loyalty to truth and right and his devotion to a perfect law-abiding humanity. In the condescension thus manifested by the Son of God in bringing his life down to the plane of our being, and making common cause with us in the experience and trials of this world, enduring its hardships, fighting its temptations, dropping into the lowliest estate a human being could occupy, not even having where to lay his head—in the carrying out of his merciful purpose to save us from death is there not an indorsement of the law that places its sanctity and worth beyond all possible cavil on the part of any intelligence

in this universe? And when we add to this indorsement the voluntary surrender of his life to establish conditions which would render salvation from death safe under the government he had established, can anyone entertain a doubt as to the estimate he places on the law which had been broken?

So marvelous are God's dealings with us in the atonement that we are told the angels desire to look into these things. And is not the atonement in the incarnation and death of Christ more than an indorsement of the law? Is it not a divine commentary on its office and eternal sanctity? Would our estimate of its exceeding value have been as vivid, our conceptions of its worth as full and impressive, had not the Son of man come to this world to introduce a new dispensation? We do not hesitate to assert that under the New Testament order legal restraints are certainly not less effective than under the Old Testament régime.

Now pardon is offered the sinner on certain conditions only, not simply for the asking of it even with intense desire; but when the soul realizes its guilt and pledges reformation, seeking a better life, then pardon is granted. It is death under the law on the one hand, or pardon with regeneration on the other. It is pardon with a new life, never pardon with the spirit in a state of enmity toward God. Thus the whole scheme is in the interest of reformation and obedience to the law. The problem is more than an administrative one—not less what is done in the sinner than what is done for him. Looking at the cross, he realizes something of the awful turpitude of sin, he abhors his past life because of its guilt; and more than escape from penalty does he desire escape from the corruption of his nature; and in crying for mercy it is a cry for deliverance from all that is corrupt and evil within him. Is not God ready under all circumstances to make a soul pure if purity is sought?

The atonement, therefore, in exalting the law and opening the eyes of men to see its reasonableness and sanctity, introduces into the divine government through the display of love in its most astonishing manifestation a force mightier than all other forces in winning the race to virtue and building up God's kingdom on the earth. There can be no government of

law so effective as the government of grace. Law dominates the will; the grace of God in Jesus Christ dominates the will and heart both, dominating the will not by external constraint, but through that central life of our being, the heart. As the government of a nation that has the hearts of the people is stronger than if upheld by bayonets, so God's kingdom now dwelling in human hearts is stronger than it could possibly be without Christ at the center of it all. The law is still our schoolmaster, but Christ is our Saviour. The end sought in atonement is at-one-ment, the nature of man brought into harmony with the divine Spirit.

The foregoing discussions can be summed up in the following questions and answers: Was Christ an atoning sacrifice? Yes; for without his incarnation and death there could have been no dispensation of grace. Did Christ become the propitiation for our sins? Yes; his death was the result of our sins, making it possible for God to be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Was Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world? Yes; his life was an offering through which alone pardon could safely be offered. In him is there reconciliation? Yes; reconciliation of man to God in spirit, in life. The purpose was that we should be new creatures, the divine image being restored to us.

L. R. Fiske

Art. VI.—SAVONAROLA AND ROME.

The twenty-third of May, 1898, was the four hundredth anniversary of Savonarola's martyrdom. This is a remarkable event, not only in itself, on account of the greatness and excellence of the victim, but also because Jerome Savonarola is the last great personage before the Reformation who is held in high honor among both Protestants and Catholics. The commemoration of his martyrdom, therefore, rightly conducted and not turned into a weapon of mere sectarian boasting or attack, ought to be a means of bringing these two widely separated portions of Western Christendom into a better mutual understanding.

There have been within Western Christendom three classes of antagonists to Rome. First, those who, when she was the head of Christianity, opposed her because she did maintain historical Christianity. Foremost of these were the Albigenses. These, indeed, were not teachers of voluptuousness. They were exactly the opposite. As Dr. R. D. Hitchcock has remarked, they were Puritans whose Puritanism was so intense that it threw them into dualism. Matter, with the human appetites and passions connected with it, has rightly been recognized in all ages as something which, as St. Peter says, wars against the soul. Asceticism, therefore, in reasonable measure, has been recognized alike in Greek and Christian philosophy as helpful to the spiritual nature. Manichæism, however, in all its forms, of which it is idle to deny that Albigensianism is one, carries asceticism beyond all measure. It declares matter essentially and incurably evil. It denies that the visible world can have come from the good God. Any contact with matter is a sin. The instincts which continue the life of the individual are evil, and the instinct which continues the life of the race is supremely evil. They become venial only if expiated by the vicarious austerities of the Perfect. A temptation to fall from among the Perfect into the common herd may well be averted by suicide. The suppression of Albigensianism, notwithstanding all attendant atrocities—atrocities which to the rudeness of the Middle Ages were

comparatively a slight thing—was, as Paul Sabatier has well said, the salvation of rational human society.

The next class of antagonists to Rome is represented by Wyclif and Huss before the Reformation, and then by the Protestant reformers themselves. These adhere as firmly as Rome to historical Christianity, purging it of a measure of asceticism which appears to them in practice if not in theory to approach dangerously near to that very dualism which Rome crushed in the Albigenses, and vindicating for the natural relations of life a religious value which it appears to them that Rome fails to accord them in fact, even though she calls marriage a sacrament. Albigensianism, therefore, is a revolt alike against reason and historical Christianity, and against Rome as representing these. Protestantism, with its precursors in England and Bohemia, is a revolt against the theology, discipline, hierarchy, and ritual of the Latin races, and against Rome as representing these.

Savonarola's revolt is neither one nor the other. He holds fast to reason, to revelation, and to historical Christianity. He also holds fast, without the slightest aberration from them, to the theology, the discipline, the ritual, and the polity of the Latin Church, and to Rome as the keystone of the whole. He is an Italian, a Catholic, a monk, of monks a mendicant friar, of friars a Dominican. He belongs to the order of supreme orthodoxy and of the Inquisition. In his loyalty to St. Dominic and to Thomas Aquinas he never falters. He boasts that his order has never given birth to a heretic. He does, indeed, maintain that the pope is amenable to a general council, a view especially characterizing the century of Constance and Basel, and, as he holds it, hardly distinguishable from the view now propounded by the Jesuits themselves. He does not appear to hold that a pope, really such, can err in doctrine, and he does not accuse even Borgia of erring officially in doctrine, although he does not own Borgia for a true pope, and accuses him of being personally a mere atheist. Alexander, in turn, praises his doctrine and life, and only accuses him of pride and rebellion. The final sentence of heresy passed against him did not result from any evidence, and, when once it had accomplished its end of pushing him out of the world,

was no longer insisted upon by Alexander himself. It is true, as Villari remarks, that Savonarola is a man of extraordinary freshness and originality, not only of character, but of intellect. He is far from being a mere echo of St. Thomas, or of scholasticism. He looks forward even more than he looks back. He is a deep philosophical, as well as theological, thinker. He anticipates Locke in maintaining that all knowledge comes from experience. He anticipates Kant in maintaining that to give experience value it must be brought into shape by preexistent categories of reason. He rises above Kant in evidently holding that both experience and reason, fused in a divinely preestablished harmony, give us reality as it is.

The Savonarolas had become eminent as physicians and physicists, and Jerome had expected to follow the hereditary path. It was only the unspeakable corruptions of the times that drove him into the cloister, although, once there, his heart rested thenceforth without wavering in his vocation. He did not become a monk in the elder and stricter sense, a recluse. He became a friar, that is, a member of one of the four great orders instituted for the special benefit of society and of the Church. He loved the poor like St. Francis, while in his fulminations from the pulpit he embodied above Dominic himself the inmost genius of the order of preachers. Yet, although thus diverted from continuing the family traditions of physical research, Villari describes him as always exhibiting a keen sympathy with the physical sciences. He views him on this side as a harbinger of Campanella, of Giordano Bruno, and of Galileo. Savonarola, however, did not look forward to any disclosures of truth that should discredit truth already found. There was nothing in this deep and solid Christian thinker that would have led him to cast in his lot with those men and women, swarming through Christendom, who, in the words of an honored teacher, would fain view the light of the sun with revolutionary eyes and receive the harmonies of music with revolutionary ears and inhale the fragrance of the rose with revolutionary sensations. Not of these is Savonarola. He never wavers in his conviction that in Jesus Christ the divine sun of truth and goodness has risen upon the world—of

truth concerning God's being, creation, redemption, immortality. The indefinite progress to which he looks forward is progress in this truth, not away from it.

In theology does Savonarola, while using the forms and definitions then prevailing, anticipate any fundamental change? It does not appear that he does. The keen instinct of Rome, almost unerring in detecting even embryonic inclinations toward doctrinal innovation, has fully acquitted him of these. In other words, he is either free of all suggestions of doctrinal change or, which is probably nearer the truth, such changes as he does suggest are such as were accepted by the later Catholicism as a more perfect expression of its mind. The one assumption or the other would leave his doctrinal relation to Rome untouched. His frequent denunciation of superfluous ceremonies has in it nothing heterodox. He is hardly as severe against the darkening and bewildering effect of superfluous ceremonies as the preface which Rome herself gave to the reformed breviary and maintained there for a generation or more. Where ceremonies appear to Savonarola profitable to the spiritual life, there, says Villari, he goes even beyond the common standard in urging the use of them. He takes an active part in all the pious rites of Florence, including the processions in which the miraculous tutelary Madonna is borne through the streets. The sacraments—above all, confession and the eucharist—are to him precisely what they are to all other devout Catholics. He puts all these usages among "the good works" which he declares to be profitable in preparing for grace and to nourish and increase it when received.

Some of his declarations concerning the all-sufficiency of God and grace and the utter insufficiency of man, coming to Luther's knowledge, so struck him that he printed them, declaring Savonarola to have been a forerunner of the Reformation. He was this indeed, in the sense that he with pure and pious men and women throughout the Church, from Naples to Stockholm, was weighed down with a consciousness of the immeasurable corruption of the Roman see during the time of the Renaissance, and was persuaded that drastic measures alone would secure a renewal of the face of Christendom. No one expresses this consciousness more unreservedly before all the

world than good Pope Hadrian VI. The Teutonic races—even France being heavily Teutonic—were hostile to the Latin races politically, and were beginning to diverge religiously. They therefore became easily discouraged from the hope of reform, and broke away from Rome. Savonarola, on the other hand—the Italian, the Dominican—had no thought of this. The papacy was sacred to him, but that incarnation of all abominations, Roderick Borgia, was horrible, all the more horrible because of the holiness of his office. Savonarola's revolt was not against Rome or the papacy, but against the wickedest of all the popes. It was not, like the Reformation, a doctrinal, it was a purely moral revolt—the revolt of goodness against indescribable wickedness.

Luther, as Villari remarks, in pronouncing Girolamo an inchoate Protestant simply on the ground of the strong emphasis which he often lays on the emptiness of man and the all-sufficiency of God, overlooks the fact that this is a postulate of the universal Christian consciousness. The saints of God in all ages of the Church have in various measure been plunged into this consciousness. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory," is the voice of all holy hearts. "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" Although Dean Farrar, in his superficial little book on the Fathers, sneers at "the helpless passivity" of those noblest of post-apostolic words, "O God, give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt," *Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*, it is the echo of such words which keeps the Church from spreading out into a thin and powerless Pelagianism. This sense of human nothingness and divine all-sufficiency, therefore, has nothing in it specifically Protestant. All great saints have had it, above all in the great junctures and crises of individual and general life. They say in Würtemberg, "Rome makes every man a Lutheran on his deathbed." It is not from a Protestant hand, but from the favorite poem of Catholic Spain, that the verses come:

O thou, that for our sins didst take
A human form, and humbly make
Thy home on earth;
Thou, that to thy divinity
A human nature didst ally
By mortal birth;

And in that form didst suffer here
Torment, and agony, and fear,
So patiently;
By thy redeeming grace alone,
And not for merits of my own,
O, pardon me.

The specific peculiarity of the Reformation, as we know, was that it intensified this relative nothingness of the creature into a formal denial of human free will since the fall. This, as we know, was even more harshly held and expressed by Luther than by the later and more deliberate Calvin. Luther, who knew but fragments of Savonarola's writings, would, as Villari remarks, hardly have held the friar for a precursor of himself had he known how continually he emphasizes free will and the helpfulness of good works. And likewise while, like other Church teachers, he sometimes speaks of faith as justifying, he when speaking more particularly agrees with St. Paul in describing this as faith working through love; or, as the Catholics translate, taking *energoumené* for passive, rather than middle, faith made operative by love; or again, using the view of James, "faith formed" and made perfect by works of love, *fides formata*. In other words, both as to grace, free will, good works, and justification, Savonarola accepts without variation the definitions subsequently established by Trent. He does not appear to go even so far toward the Protestant position as Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Contarini afterward went, although, as a man profoundly trusting in God, he would doubtless have fully agreed with Pole that we cannot ascribe too much to grace and too little to ourselves. The Jesuitizing Pelagianism of Count de Maistre, that the greatest wrong done to grace is to make too much of it, would have moved his abhorrence, as it moves that of every right-minded Christian of our own time.

Savonarola's great work, the *Triumph of the Cross*, lays very great stress for the establishment of Christianity on the reason, and greatly prefers this to simple tradition or authority. Indeed, so strong is his language to this effect that he might almost be taken as a harbinger, not of Protestantism only, but of Protestant rationalism. The scheme of doctrine, however, which he regards as so eminently reasonable as hardly

to need the support of tradition and authority is the Roman Catholic. That he has not appealed to the reason in any such way as to be displeasing to the Church is shown by the fact that the *Triumph of the Cross* has been largely used in instructing candidates for the priesthood, and that it has been reprinted by the Propaganda as a useful missionary manual. Why Hermes, the German, should, in our own time, have been condemned for making the same appeal to reason in favor of Catholicism which Rome approves in Savonarola we do not know. Perhaps it is because, as Hermann Grimm remarks, the Italians esteem German Catholics as only, at best, a mitigated sort of Protestants, and therefore are ready to find heresy in them on slight occasion. An Italian, above all a Dominican, might be allowed liberties which would be denied to a suspected Teuton. The mere fact that the Italian perished in a personal contest with an evil pope need not cast any reflection on his doctrine, as indeed Rome after mature consideration has decided that it does not. She remains undecided, in fact, whether it casts any reflection upon himself.

Villari remarks that the great effort of Savonarola, in his expositions of doctrine, is, not to diverge from the definitions of the schoolmen, but from the harshness and cumbrousness of their methods. He desires that theology, divested of a stiff and abstract terminology, should become an essential and easily appropriated element of general human thought, should blend easily with philosophy, science, literature, and the conduct of life. His efforts tend, half-unconsciously it may be, through the instinct of a great preacher and man of affairs, to the fusion of theology with all other forms of knowledge and action. Though hostile to the Renaissance as an endeavor to revive paganism, he was in the noblest sense a humanist, interested in every normal and legitimate human interest. He appears to have had in mind such a simplification and popularizing of theology as in France, through Bossuet and other great writers, made religious thought and feeling an essential part of the national literature. In our time again there are signs of a disposition to take up once more the work of Savonarola in this direction. The noble works of Gioberti are a magnificent example of this. He is a true disciple of

Dante and Savonarola. It is true, through Jesuit influence his works have been put bodily in the Index, but, as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks, this signifies little, so little, indeed, that only two years after the Jesuit edict—of which the pope was merely the executor—the Bishop of Capolago published a complete edition of his writings without any expostulation from Rome. Jesuit detraction will fade away, but the regenerating force of those two generous rivals, Gioberti and Rosmini, will remain.

Savonarola's relations to the State of Florence were in themselves, of course, of no theological import. The greatness of his intelligence and the purity of his purpose are evident in the fact that men of such civil height as Macchiavelli and Guicciardini cannot extol his work for Florence too highly. They declare that the constitution which he gave the republic was the best, for justice and sound policy, that she had ever had in all her innumerable mutations. It was all one to Borgia whether Florence was governed by a despot, an oligarchy, or a democracy. The only question that he asked was how far he could subordinate it to his own schemes. In his manifestoes against Girolamo he has nothing to say against his civic activity. He confines himself entirely to the ecclesiastical domain; to Savonarola's prophetical claims, his denunciations of the pope, his refusals to obey the papal commands enjoining silence on him, and, above all, his refusal, as Dominican Provincial of Tuscany, to obey a papal reconstitution which would have swallowed up him and his brethren of San Marco in a crowd of degenerate friars, and would have ruined his great monastic reform, and rendered it certain that he would have been handed over to Rome. So soon as Savonarola's enemies at Florence secured possession of the Signoria, Borgia was content. When his destruction was assured the republic, which had just before been threatened with interdict, excommunication, and outlawry, was once more the pious Guelphic State, the friend and champion of the Holy See.

That Savonarola had an extraordinary and specific gift of insight into futurity is unquestionable. Villari, who contests the report of miracles and has little faith in the friar's visions, fully admits it. His warning to the people of Brescia of

the horrors that ensued when their city was taken by storm, a warning given many years before there was the slightest appearance of such a probability; his prophecy of the descent of Charles VIII over the Alps before Charles himself had formed the purpose; his forecast of the death within the year of the pope, Lorenzo, and the King of Naples, who showed no signs of being likely to die so soon, and whose death made a profound change in public affairs; his authentic prophecy of the taking of Rome under a pope named Clement, with all the horrors ensuing, and the total destruction of the wealth and magnificence of the proud city, a prophecy given thirty years before the event and circulated in this form many years before the sudden quarrel between pope and emperor brought it so unexpectedly about, and long before the election of Giulio de' Medici, who certainly did not take the name of Clement to help fulfill it—these are salient examples, but not sole examples, of a remarkable power of prophetic insight. That sagacious politician, Philippe de Comines, was profoundly impressed with this endowment in him. Men hard and men easy of belief alike admitted it. It is a fact as clear as the Frate's existence. How are we to explain it? We cannot explain the great achievements of genius, even in the natural order. How much less when they reach the heights of the spiritual order! Yet, though we cannot explain, we can point out, following Savonarola himself in the sounder parts of his exposition of this, the great law of which he is so illustrious an exemplification. It is expressed in one sentence, "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him." Whoever is in communion with God knows the great lines of his government of the world. Every Christian in his measure is a prophet. The deeper Christian he is the more intimate is his sense of the shape which events are taking under the guiding Hand. Now let a man of great natural genius and wide natural forecast, like Savonarola, come into such a depth of intellectual, moral, and spiritual communion with God and Christ as we see in him, and we may well expect him to be rapt upon miraculous heights of outlooking speculation. This is miraculous indeed, and yet it is natural. It is the miraculous culmination of a broad-lying foundation of diffused evangelical consciousness.

It would have been happy for Savonarola if he had confined himself to this sound and cogent exposition of his prophetic gift. It was amply sufficient to vindicate his possession of it and its unique dignity, while yet it did not sweep him off his feet into a region of fantastic and unintelligible mystery and dissever him from the multitude of his fellow-believers. It would have left him a true and great prophet, yet it would not have bound either himself or his followers to a slavish necessity of believing that every forecast of his must infallibly be fulfilled. It would have secured for him all that deference of expectation which was his due, while it would not have chained up his disciples in a mechanical bondage of their own faculties. It would have brought out the great truth that all the gifts of an imperfect Christian man, ordinary and extraordinary, are imperfect like himself. Absolute infallibility belongs only to Him in whom heart and mind are absolutely at one with God.

Unhappily, however, for Savonarola, he did not confine himself to this sound and easily defensible position. From his early years his sensitive frame and imagination bodied forth his mental experiences in visionary forms. These he was not content to understand for what they were, a projection from within. Following the general current of his age and the statements of his great authority, Thomas Aquinas, he reversed the truth, and would have it that these visions came from without and were impressed upon him by angelic influence. The age of the Renaissance, like other ages of decaying faith, was perfectly saturated with such opinions. Believers and unbelievers, Christians and Neoplatonists alike, and atheists no less, lived in an atmosphere of tutelary powers, astral influences, occult forces of minerals and plants, and above all of gems, and all manner of similar fantasies. Savonarola was swept fully into the current of the times, to which his native temperament so much predisposed him to yield, and to which the moral tension of his struggle with evil in the highest places gave added force. Where he had a great practical work before him—a work of ecclesiastical or monastic, and, above all, of civil, reform—there no man was more sure-footed. There his visions did him no harm. Indeed,

they may be said to have benefited him. They encompassed him in an atmosphere of high imaginings through which there penetrated only the great lines of reality and the great principles of things, suppressing all pettiness of insignificant detail. But in his sermons he was continually looking into the future, and here his undoubting confidence in all his visions, as in something given him by a higher power, confused and overbore his sounder intuitions, which were thus almost lost in a crowd of unrealized fancies. Yet, as neither he nor his disciples would acknowledge any difference in the two classes of predictions, they were driven to all sorts of subtle and futile interpretations and evasions, which in the end had no small share in bringing about his ruin. This was the worse when Savonarola began to give credit to the visions of the weak and fantastic Fra Silvestro. Silvestro himself at first held these lightly, recognizing that they resulted from a kind of epileptic habit. He indeed sharply rebuked his prior when he saw that he was impressed by them. But Savonarola, who was completely immersed in his theory of angelic communications, would not be persuaded that Silvestro's visions were not also celestial. Indeed, in his unfeigned humility, he put them higher than his own. Thus the two men acted and reacted on each other, ruinously to both.

Savonarola was deeply devoted to the study of the Bible. This, however, was not in the sense of a careful exegesis. This can hardly be said to have been known. With the fathers and the schoolmen Savonarola, by the help of the literal, the allegorical, the mystical, and the anagogical sense, finds in the Scriptures very nearly everything that he wants to find. Whatever the preacher conceives to be the truth of God he can, by this plastic manner of interpretation, easily find reechoed by the word of God. Savonarola is saturated with the Bible. So is Aquinas. So is Dante. So, long afterward, is Bellarmine. So is the Jesuit Suarez. Yet no one of these men studies the Bible with any view of revising the doctrine of the Church. St. Paul's consciousness, "We know in part," has not as yet passed very deeply into the consciousness of Christendom, Catholic or Protestant. Let anyone take the apostle's declaration in earnest, and treat the

Bible as astronomy treats the starry heavens—as something every fresh perusal of which, and every added faculty of vision, may be expected to bring out fresh stars or planets, or to modify our apprehensions of those already found—and he would be apt to find that his way of proceeding was contemned as futile, or dreaded as dangerous. Of any such way or end of Bible study there seem to be but dubious traces in Savonarola. The Bible for him, as for most Christians of all ages, seems to be for application, not for discovery. To say that, if he should become persuaded that it taught some doctrine contrary to what was commonly held, he would accept it, would of course be impossible for a Roman Catholic remaining such, and it would be practically almost impossible to a Protestant theologian, unless he was ready to leave his present companionship. Joseph Butler and Samuel Hopkins, in their anticipations of what may be expected to result from the following up of "unexplored remainders," have hitherto spoken to inattentive, or even to hostile, ears. The very phrase is odious to the current orthodoxy, Protestant hardly less than Catholic.

Of course, the Bible has in a general way from the beginning guided the Church and all her teachers. Christians would never have accepted doctrines which they believed to be contradicted by Scripture. If it be said that the Catholic Church has often done this in fact, Protestants certainly have no call to deny it. It might be hard to show a Church that has not done so. Savonarola's study of the Bible, therefore, cannot well be viewed as anything essentially different from that of Augustine or Ambrose, Anselm or Thomas or Dante. The study of the Bible, in its proper sense, as the continuously formative source of Christian doctrine, hardly antedates this century, and will doubtless have a hard struggle in the next before it establishes itself victoriously in the Church. Savonarola's study of the Bible, though not untouched with the modern spirit, seems to remain essentially mediæval.

There are naturally two wings of Catholic theologians, those who love the Bible more than the fathers and those who love the fathers more than the Bible. Savonarola doubtless belongs to the former wing, although not slighting the fathers. In this

sense he may be said to anticipate the subsequent Protestantism. Yet the difference between the two wings is of proportion, not of principle. Pius IX, for instance, as we have been assured by Dr. Schaff, was poorly read in the fathers and schoolmen, but very well read in the Scriptures. Yet assuredly the worthy pope will never be accused of being an embryonic or unconscious Protestant. So also Cardinal Richard is solicitous that his diocesans of Paris shall imitate our Protestant habit of Sunday school Bible study. The eminent archbishop has no fear of doctrinal aberrations resulting from this. The principle on which Catholics avowedly and most Protestants really act, of subordinating the interpretation of the Bible to the interpretation allowed by the creed, is a pretty good guarantee against these. The Old Catholics of Utrecht commend New Testament study to their candidates of theology first, last, and midmost. Yet in two centuries they have not varied in the least from either the doctrines or the discipline of the Council of Trent. It is not, therefore, the absorbing study of the Bible that is specially Protestant; it is the study of the Bible as a test of established doctrine. Of this there appears to be no more in Savonarola than in Aquinas before him, or in Bellarmine or Suarez after him.

Savonarola and his junior, Luther, who was fifteen years old when the friar was martyred—though he probably knew nothing of it then—both yearned for a renewal of Christianity, for the suppression of paganism and of corruption in the Church. Had Savonarola been a German, and lived thirty years later, he would probably have been a champion of the Reformation, simply because most earnest-minded men in the Teutonic world were that. Being an Italian, had he lived thirty or fifty years later, or twice that, he would probably have been a champion of the Counter-reformation, for most earnest-minded Italians were that. The Counter-reformation, though not containing the fruitful germs of the northern movement, was more specifically and immediately directed to the revival of devoutness and morality than the Reformation. Germany and Switzerland, for the first Protestant generation, or perhaps more, seemed in danger of lapsing into mere lawlessness. Especially was this true of Germany. Many of

Luther's own sayings smack dangerously of Antinomianism. It was only slowly that the northern races were gathered under the guardianship of new systems of doctrine and polity. These systems were hardly less rigid than that which they had left, but they were at least their own. The Teutonic and Celto-Teutonic genius breathed more freely in them. The Italian genius, however, neither in Savonarola nor in his disciples or successors found any call to depart from that form of doctrine and polity which had been its own creation. The Italians had not become tired of Francis and Aquinas, of Bonaventura and Dante. Savonarola would probably have chanted his "*Nunc dimittis*" had he lived to see the reforming activity of the Council of Trent, to see a Paul IV and a Pius V in the seat of an Alexander or a Julius. Though not himself intolerant of temper, it is not likely that the rigid repression of heresy would have greatly scandalized him, the Italian Dominican. He would almost have thought that the New Jerusalem was to be seen in a Rome from which heathen cardinals and profligate bishops had fled, and which was swayed by the counsels of the Borromeos and refreshed by the devotions of a Philip Neri. He would have rejoiced in the rich variety of the new pious and charitable orders, and the reforms instituted in the old. He would have been thankful to see a generation of bishops that had not bought their sees, that actually lived among their people, attentive to their pastoral duties. He would have followed with deep attention and approbation the early activities of Jesuitism, still on its highest plane. He might not have shown the fierceness of a Ghislieri toward the northern heresies, but there seems no reason to suppose that he would have regarded them with any favor. So free and bold a spirit as Gioberti, in our own age, is witness how hard it is for an Italian to enter into sympathy with Protestantism. How much less could Savonarola have reconciled himself to the semi-Antinomian forms of the earliest Lutheranism? No one can say what any particular man would have been in a preceding or a following generation. Yet, as Savonarola in his own day was absolutely content with the Dominican orthodoxy, he would probably have remained content with it when it had once more gained complete control of Italian life. So far as we can con-

jecture probabilities in the case of Savonarola from the conduct of his disciples, his teaching and influence do not seem to have led in any way toward Protestantism. In 1529 or 1530 the Piagnoni—"the Weepers"—as his followers were called, were for a little while again in control at Florence. These found a few Lutherans in the city, and set upon them with such fury that they fled at once to save their lives.

Since the Roman decree of 1559 Savonarola's enemies in the Church, not being permitted any longer to call him a heretic, have concentrated their attacks on the two charges of visionary enthusiasm and of rebellion against the pope. In the former accusation we must agree with them, although it is only true in such a sense as leaves Savonarola still a great and good man. His disobedience to the pope does not concern us greatly; the question is, What aspect does it bear in the Catholic Church? It is variously regarded here, and indeed cannot well be reduced to any hard and fast principle that shall either condemn it or allow it. No divine teaches the duty of absolute obedience to the pope, even in matters strictly ecclesiastical. Savonarola acknowledges that a priest is bound to presume it his duty to obey the holy father in all matters of his office; he is only excused by a manifest obligation of charity and of the good of the Church. This is undisputed Catholic doctrine, reproduced from the fathers and schoolmen. The Jesuits, in their constitutions, express the same doctrine in the same words: "We are bound to obey the pope and all superiors, so far as is consistent with charity." "*Charitas*," we need not say, is the compendious term for supreme love to God and equal love to man. The question, then, is not of principle, but of fact. Girolamo had said, what Joan of Arc had said about seventy years earlier, "I will obey the Church after I have obeyed our Lord God." The Church is advancing her now to the honors of canonization, and there is nothing in his words to withhold him from obtaining them too. The only question is, What was his motive of resistance? Was it self-will and self-exalting pride; or righteous but excessive indignation; or a warranted contempt of usurped authority; or a noble disregard of an authority, legitimate indeed, but exercised by a wicked man for pernicious ends? Of these four

varying judgments the third was that of Julius II, who, though himself very far from being a good man, had been the Frate's supporter as against Alexander VI. Julius carried through the Fifth Lateran Council a vote declaring Roderick Borgia to have been no true pope, pronouncing his election hopelessly vitiated by simony. In this view, therefore, Savonarola had merely been resisting a usurper. Julius is quoted as having declared him a prophet and martyr and worthy of canonization. He did not find it expedient to carry out this purpose formally, yet he may be said to have canonized Jerome in fact. It was under commission from him that Raphael has adorned the walls of the Vatican with the portrait of Savonarola standing among the fathers and doctors of the Church. There it has looked down on a long succession of changing popes for nearly four centuries. No one of them has ventured to obliterate it, not even the three Medicean popes of Florence, who were his hereditary enemies. This ocular demonstration of deep honor might perhaps be declared a clearer witness to that underlying mind of the Church regarding him to which Bishop Creighton refers than even a formal pronouncement.

However, so long as the voluptuous waves of pagan Renaissance still rolled over the chair of Peter, under a Leo X, a Clement VII, and even a Paul III, the prevailing feeling in Italy, at least in high places, remained hostile to Savonarola, or at best dubious. The Dominicans had already begun to entertain that veneration for him as a saint and martyr which gradually spread until it controlled the whole order. The Bollandists a hundred and fifty years ago thought it necessary to offer the Dominicans an apology for not including Girolamo in the list of saints whose memory is to be celebrated on the twenty-third of May. Yet for half a century or more the Curia forced generals on the Dominicans from among the Frate's enemies. These tried to suppress among their brethren and sisters the habit of invoking his intercession with God. How far they succeeded externally we do not know, but they did not succeed in restraining the growing tide of veneration for him within the order as being undoubtedly a glorified saint. The accession of Paul IV, in 1555, marks the final subjugation

of paganism and the reinstitution in intense aggressiveness of Catholic Christianity. With this came the rehabilitation of Savonarola's memory. In 1559 the pope, who had at first declared the friar a mere anticipation of Martin Luther, approved a decree drawn up by a commission of four cardinals after an exhaustive deliberation of six months, declaring all of Savonarola's writings soundly Catholic, although for prudential reasons the decree suspended the reading of his treatise on "Prophetic Verity" and of some of his sermons. The full account of this is given by Cardinal Capecelatro in his life of Philip Neri. This action is the more significant because the decree was drawn up under the continuous supervision of Michael Ghislieri, the inexorable grand inquisitor of Rome, afterward reigning as Pius V, the intensest persecutor of Protestantism that has ever lived. The final reestablishment of Savonarola's orthodoxy, therefore, was not action taken inadvertently or by surprise. It proceeded from the very heart of the Counter-reformation.

The decree did not touch the question of Savonarola's disobedience to the pope, which concerned fact, not doctrine. The Lateran denial of Alexander's title has not found acceptance in the Church. It is acknowledged that, wicked as he was, he was validly pope. Ought Savonarola then to have obeyed his command to cease from preaching and, even in the view of certain death, the command to repair to Rome? Hardly anyone will maintain the latter, but most, even of his admirers, blame, though gently, his refusal to be silent when the pope commanded. This is allowed by Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro, the present Archbishop of Capua, who, as an old Oratorian, inherits St. Philip Neri's veneration for the friar. It is known that St. Philip used to keep a portrait of Savonarola in his private chapel surrounded by a halo. It is increasingly allowed that if Savonarola's disobedience was censurable at all it was a very venial offense. Since Leo XIII has thrown open the Borgia records all further attempts to apologize for Alexander VI are hopelessly futile.

Cardinal Capecelatro in his life of St. Philip Neri remarks that, besides Philip, others cherished the memory of Savonarola. Writing of this profound reverence, he says:

S. Catherine dei Ricci, S. Francis of Paula, the blessed Maria Bagnesi, Colomba of Rieti, and Catherine of Racconigi all cherished with affectionate veneration the memory of Savonarola. Some of the popes esteemed him greatly. Julius II declared him worthy to be enrolled amongst the blessed; Raphael has given us his portrait in the *stanze* among the doctors of the Church; Paul III compelled Cosmo the First to reinstate in S. Mark's in Florence the Dominicans who had been expelled in hatred of Savonarola; Clement VIII held him in singular veneration, had serious thoughts of canonizing him, and allowed his portraits to be seen in Rome, with rays about his head, and with the titles of "blessed," and "doctor," and "martyr;" and, to sum up all, Benedict XIV places the name of Savonarola in the list he drew up of saints and blessed and others renowned for their sanctity.

The Jesuits seem to have quietly opposed his canonization, perhaps quite as much because he was a Dominican as for any other reason. Now, however, that of late years the Dominicans have been more amenable to Jesuit influence, the Jesuits, in turn, seem to be remitting of their opposition to the great Dominican martyr. The writer has a recent pamphlet, written by a Dominican and edited by a Jesuit, greatly extolling the Frate, and speaking sympathetically of past proposals to canonize him. Rome ought to do this for her own sake. He died in full communion of the Roman Church, fortified by the viaticum, administered with her full consent by him to himself and to his two companions of martyrdom. The momentary excommunication pronounced against them—for political, not really for religious, ends—was immediately revoked by the impartation to all three of a plenary indulgence, whereby they were pontifically declared to be, probably, not even in purgatory, but in paradise. Now that the wickedness of Alexander's action and character is fully recognized, and that Savonarola's Catholic orthodoxy has long since been proclaimed by Rome, there seems to be no sufficient reason why she should not now proceed to detach him from his unhistorical association with Wyclif and Huss and the worthies of the Reformation, by gathering him into his legitimate place among the worthies of the Roman calendar.

Charles C. Starbuck

Art. VII.—THE COVENANT OF SALT.

A COVENANT is an agreement or obligation between two or more persons, contracted with deliberation and solemnity. Whether written or verbal, it may be accompanied by certain rites or symbolic acts which add to the sacredness of the obligation. It may frequently happen that these rites, or but inconsiderable parts of the same, are all that remain to inform us as to the nature of an old covenant. We present in this article a brief study of one of the most ancient, the "covenant of salt." We may group the biblical passages which will assist us in the treatment of our subject:

1. The passages in the Old Testament which refer more or less clearly to the ritual of sacrifices and offerings, or to covenant-making. "And every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt" (Lev. ii, 13).* "All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, as a due forever: it is a covenant of salt forever before the Lord unto thee and to thy seed with thee" (Num. xviii, 19). "And Abijah stood up upon Mount Zemaraim, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, and said, Hear me, O Jeroboam and all Israel; ought ye not to know that the Lord, the God of Israel, gave the kingdom over Israel to David forever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?" (2 Chron. xiii, 4, 5.)† Concerning the offerings which were to be presented at the cleansing of the temple the prophet directed, "And thou shalt bring them near before the Lord, and the priests shall cast salt upon them, and they shall offer them up for a burnt offering unto the Lord" (Ezek. xliii, 24). "Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight; and thou shalt make of it incense, a perfume after the art of the per-

* The Revised Version will be followed throughout this discussion.
† Comp. 1 Sam. xvi, 1, 2, 12, 13; 2 Sam. vii, 13-16.

fumer, seasoned with salt, pure and holy" (Exod. xxx, 34, 35). The margin has "tempered together" instead of "seasoned with salt," and this agrees with the Authorized Version. The latter places "salted" in the margin.

As to covenant-making the following passage may be quoted: "Now because we eat the salt of the palace, and it is not meet for us to see the king's dishonor, therefore have we sent and certified the king" (Ezra iv, 14). The Authorized Version has, "we have maintenance from the king's palace," and places in the margin the alternative reading, "we are salted with the salt of the palace." The original might be translated, "we salt the salt of the palace." This certainly means something more than to be in the king's pay, or to be supported by the king's bounty, as explained by Keil, Schultz, and many other commentators. Salt is necessary, not only to make the food palatable—"Can that which hath no savor be eaten without salt?" (Job vi, 6)—but also to sanctify the meal. Those who partake of the common meal are thereby bound together in brother-friendship. To "salt the salt," to eat the salt, to sit at the king's table, or to partake of his bounty is to become a party to a covenant of friendship which it were a crime of no inferior magnitude to break.

2. There are several passages in which "salt" is used as a symbol of destruction or barrenness. "And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that was therein: and he beat down the city, and sowed it with salt" (Judg. ix, 45). The pure waters proceeding from the house of God shall heal everything which they reach; "But the miry places thereof, and the marishes thereof, shall not be healed; they shall be given up to salt" (Ezek. xlvii, 11). The ungodly man "shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land and not inhabited" (Jer. xvii, 6). "The whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and a burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein" (Deut. xxix, 23).

> He turneth rivers into a wilderness,
> And watersprings into a thirsty ground;
> A fruitful land into a salt desert,
> For the wickedness of them that dwell therein (Psa. cvii, 33, 34).

The Authorized Version has "barrenness" in place of "a salt desert," but "saltness" appears in the margin.

> Whose house I have made the wilderness,
> And the salt land his dwelling place (Job xxxix, 6).

Here again the Authorized Version has "the barren land" instead of "the salt land," but places the alternative reading "salt places" in the margin. "The heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner [margin, 'like gnats']" (Isa. li, 6). The passage might be translated, "the heavens shall be salted." This is the only place in the Bible, we think, where the Hebrew word is translated by "vanish away."

Abimelech sowed the city of Shechem with salt, not merely to symbolize its utter destruction, but rather to place it under a ban or curse. It was thenceforth considered tabooed to all human use, and devoted to God alone. This seems to have been the original meaning of the rite. The waters which proceeded from the house of God were to heal everything except "the miry places" and "the marishes." The latter were given up to salt, that is, devoted to destruction, or placed under a ban. The "salt land" which the ungodly man shall inhabit is tabooed against any real satisfaction of his legitimate needs. This symbolic use of salt in the ban or curse is derived from its use in sacrifices and covenants. The original idea was the same. The salted sacrifice was destroyed for all exclusive human use; the object placed under a ban was destroyed for some or all of its former legitimate uses. The survival of the sacrificial or covenant idea, therefore, together with the real properties of salt, makes it an appropriate symbol of destruction and barrenness. In some of these passages the original idea connected with the use of salt is obscured, but we have introduced none in which its meaning is to be interpreted only in a strictly literal sense.

3. The following passages may be more conveniently treated by themselves: "And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, we pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water is naught, and the land miscarrieth [margin, 'casteth her fruit']. And he said, Bring me

a new cruse, and put salt therein. And they brought it to him. And he went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast salt therein, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or miscarrying [margin, 'casting of fruit']. So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the word of Elisha which he spake" (2 Kings ii, 19–22). To understand this passage we must refer to the account of the capture of Jericho. At the command of the Lord, Joshua said unto the Israelites: "The city shall be devoted, even it and all that is therein, to the Lord. . . . And ye, in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel accursed, and trouble it. But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are holy unto the Lord: they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. . . . Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it" (Josh. vi, 17–19, 26). The city was solemnly set apart to God, to be dealt with according to his will. Neither the city itself nor anything therein could be appropriated to human use. Achan transgressed and brought swift destruction upon himself and his family (Josh. vii, 1, 24–26). Hiel the Bethelite built the city, but the curse was fulfilled in his sons (1 Kings xvi, 34). There had been built a city previous to the time of Hiel, but probably it did not occupy the old site, and hence did not come under the curse. The ban had not been removed from the ancient site. Salt was cast into the fountain by Elisha to symbolize the purification of its waters. But it had another and higher meaning, the removal of the curse and the renewal of the covenant between God and "the men of the city."

Again the prophet addresses Jerusalem: "And as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to cleanse thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all" (Ezek. xvi, 4). In explanation of this peculiar passage we may remark that it is still the custom in Syria and Palestine to "salt"

infants. The child, as soon as washed, is wrapped in pulverized common salt, which is changed on three successive days. Sometimes the salt is dissolved and the babe bathed in the brine. This is a more merciful provision. A native mother said of a European child, "Poor thing! It was not salted at all."* May not this symbol have been employed to consecrate the new life and bring it into visible covenant relationship with the tribe? The explanations of these two passages are but suggestions, presented with great diffidence, and yet we deem them worthy of careful consideration. They are in complete harmony with ancient beliefs and customs. We find that all the passages from the Old Testament in which the word "salt" occurs—omitting those in which the word is used only in a literal sense—are connected intimately or remotely with covenant-making, or covenant-confirming, and consecrating or devoting.

4. We also find in the classics proof of the primary importance of the use of salt in the rites connected with ancient sacrifices and covenants. It is said that Numa first established in Rome "the custom of offering corn to the gods, and of propitiating them with the salted cake."† When an offering was made to Janus, the old Roman god who gave name to the first month of our year, the officiating priest laid on the altar the cake of corn bread and the spelt mixed with salt. "The sparkling grain of unadulterated salt" was believed to be efficacious to render the gods propitious to man. "The little grain of salt" was also offered to the shades of the dead.‡ Pliny says:

> The higher enjoyments of life could not exist without the use of salt; indeed, so highly necessary is this substance to mankind that the pleasures of the mind even can be expressed by no better term than the word "salt," such being the name given to all effusions of wit. All the amenities, in fact, of life, supreme hilarity, and relaxation from toil can find no word in our language to characterize them better than this. Even in the very honors, too, that are bestowed upon successful warfare salt plays its part, and from it our word "*salarium*" is derived.

After praising salt in food and as a medicine he continues: "But it is in our sacred rites, more particularly, that its highest importance is to be recognized, no offering ever being made

* Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 154. † Pliny, xviii, 2.
‡ Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 127, 128, 276, 277, 337-339; ii, 537-540.

unaccompanied by the salted cake."* Among the rites of sorcery the crumbling of the sacred cake held a most prominent place.

> Crumble the sacred cake, let wither'd bays
> Inflam'd with liquid sulphur crackling blaze.

The *mola*, or "sacred cake," was made of meal salted and kneaded, *molita*, whence it derives its name. So important was its use in connection with sacrificing that the victim was said to be *im-molated*. The *mola* was crumbled on the head of the victim, and also on the hearth and even the sacrificial knives.† The images of the Lares and the saltcellar, placed upon the table, consecrated the feast; and the household gods were propitiated by the pious offering of meal and a little salt—*farre pio et mica saliente*.‡ Preparatory to the voyage of the *Argo* Jason offered a sacrifice to Apollo, and first of all sprinkled the salted meal.

Among the Greeks "to eat salt together" meant to be united by the ties of hospitality; and "to have eaten a bushel of salt together" meant to have been friends for a long time. They swore by the table and by the salt; and salt was used at every meal except among the barbarous tribes of men. To "lick salt" was a proverbial expression, and meant to live sparingly. The consecrated cake seems to have been essential whenever a sacrifice was offered.§ Philo Judæus says that salt "figuratively implies a duration forever; for salt is calculated to preserve bodies, being placed in the second rank as inferior only to the soul; for as the soul is the cause of bodies not being destroyed, so likewise is salt, which keeps them together in the greatest degree, and to some extent makes them immortal."‖ Lucian gives a charm by which a maid may win the affections of a reluctant lover. A witch gains possession of some portion of his clothing, a few hairs, or some other

* Pliny, xxxi, 41. † Virgil, *Eclogues*, viii, 82; *Æneid*, ii, 133; iv, 517; xii, 173.

‡ Horace, *Odes*, II, xvi, 14; III, xxiii, 20; *Satires*, II, iii, 200. Comp. Homer, *Iliad*, i, 440-458; Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica*, i, 400, *et seq.*; Plato, *Timæus*, 60; Callimachus, *Epigram*, iii; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, ii, 459; Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii, 57; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Philosophers*, pp. 352, 353.

§ Aristotle, *Nicomachian Ethics*, II, viii, 3; Plutarch, 2, 94 A; Homer, *Odysseus*, iii, 445; iv, 761; xi, 123; xiv, 158; Archilochus, 81; Æschines, 85; Plautus, *Curculio*, iv, scene iv; Herodotus, i, 132; Aristophanes, *Pax*, 948, 960; Juvenal, *Satires*, xii, 85; Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii, 16.

‖ Philo, *Treatise on Those who Offer Sacrifice*, 6.

object which belongs to his person or effects. She hangs these on a nail, fumigates them, sprinkles salt in the fire in the name of the maid, at the same time couples her name with that of her lover, twirls a spindle, utters further spells, and the charm is effective. In the popular belief in many countries when a person has been bewitched a counter-charm will release the victim from the thrall. In Italy the clothes of the bewitched child are boiled, and to render the counter-charm more effective a fork is repeatedly stuck into them during the boiling. If this be done it is believed that the child will recover and the witch will die. At Venice it is believed that the witch herself will appear and ask for salt; if it be given the counter-charm will be destroyed. Even some substitute for salt will work the same charm. That which is done in the name of a person is magically done to the person himself. The two lovers are bound in covenant relation when the salt is thrown into the fire. When the witch herself appears, after the bond has been broken by a counter-charm, and salt is given her, the parties from whom she receives it are brought into a friendship covenant with her and become partners in her transaction, and all which they have done to counteract her charm comes to naught.*

The sources of supply of salt and incense determined ancient commercial routes. The *Via Salaria* was the road by which the salt of Ostia was carried into the country of the Sabines. The caravan route across the great Libyan desert connected oases within which were hillocks of salt. The salt of the Ammonians was so excellent in quality that it was sent to Persia for the table of the king.† An unknown correspondent connected with the Coronado expedition, 1540–42, wrote that they found salt "the best and whitest that I have seen in all my life." The ancient cliff-dwellings were connected with the sacred "Lake of Salt" by trail. The modern villages of the Zunis, who are the descendants of the Cibolans and the more ancient cliff-dwellers, are connected with this lake in like manner. A company, organized to procure the necessary supply of salt, makes an annual, or still more important

* Lucian, *Hetairai*, Dialogue iv; Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, p. 114; comp. Theocritus, *Idyll* ii.

† Pliny, xxxi, 41; Dion, Fragment 15; Herodotus, iv, 129-185.

quadrennial, ceremonial and religious pilgrimage to this source of supply. Upon the return Zuni priests carry, in advance of the cargoes of salt for common use, little bags of sacred salt. Similar bags of salt, as well as "salt in kernels," mentioned by the Spanish chroniclers, have been found in the cliff-dwellings. Another instance is the famous "*Cerro de Sal*" of Peru, to which trails lead from remote parts of South America.*

"The feast days of the Salii were also those of the *matronalia*, or women's festival, when beans were exchanged and eaten. The eating raw, with salt, of the young tender pods of the broad beans is still a common incident of the spring in that part of France which was formerly the center of the Santones, and small cottages vie with each other in having their *primeur*." † The pods represented the flesh, and the salt the blood of the sacrifice. This is an annual renewal of the covenant of friendship.

5. We may trace similar rites among many other nations and tribes, both ancient and modern. When the Chinese observe the last festival of the year they build a bonfire of pine wood before the ancestral tablets of the family. Salt is thrown upon the flame, and its crackling is an omen of good luck for the following year. In the religion of the Hindus salt scattered on the sacrificial hearth was interpreted to represent cattle, and was said to be the saviour of the sky and earth; it was also called the "sacrificial essence." ‡ The goddess of salt among the ancient Mexicans was Huixtocihuatl, and religious celebrations with sanguinary rites were held in her honor. She is said to have been a sister of the rain god, but the brother and sister had a quarrel and she was driven into the sea and invented the art of making salt. Her devotees were chiefly salt-makers.§ When the Ainos kill the divine bear as a sacrifice to renew the brotherhood covenant they drink the fresh blood and swallow the raw brain and liver with salt. ‖

* *Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. xiv, p. 565; Frank H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths, *Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. xiii, pp. 352-355.

† O'Neill, *The Night of the Gods*, vol. ii. p. 718.

‡ *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii Kanda, i *Adhyaya*, i *Brahmana* 9; *Tattariyeh Brahmana*, I, 1, 3, 2.

§ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, pp. 325, 326.

‖ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii, p. 104.

Stanley visited the Irebu, on the Upper Congo, and made blood-brotherhood with Mangombo, their chief. He writes:

> The fetich man pricked each of our right arms, pressed the blood out; then, with a pinch of scrapings from my gunstock, a little salt, a few dusty scrapings from a long pod, dropped over the wounded arms, . . . the black and the white arms were mutually rubbed together. The fetich man took the long pod in his hand and slightly touched our necks, our hands, our arms, and our legs, muttering rapidly his litany of incantations. What was left of the medicine Mangombo and I carefully folded in a banana leaf, and we bore it reverently between us to a banana grove close by, and buried the dust out of sight.*

When Major Barttelot made blood-brotherhood with one of the chiefs of the Yambura a pinch of salt was placed on the flowing blood and both parties to the covenant licked the combination.† A similar ceremony was that connected with the covenant of brotherhood made with Mata Bwyki, the senior chief of the Bangala. With Uchunku, the prince royal of Ankovi, butter took the place of salt. An incision was made in the arm of each party to the covenant, a small portion of butter was placed on each of two leaflets, the blood was mixed with the butter, the leaflets were exchanged, and the foreheads of each rubbed with the mixture.‡

A native Syrian places the blood of a sacrifice on the threshold to honor and welcome an expected guest. But if the guest arrive unexpectedly salt may be used instead. It is a common custom in Russia to receive an honored guest at the threshold of the house with the presentation of salt.§ Among the Arabs the expression "*michash*," "scarified ones," is used for "confederates." Goldziher thinks that the term properly means "the burnt ones," and is an example of a covenant of fire such as Jauhari and Nowairī mention under the head of "*nar al-hula*." The "scarified ones" are more probably those who bear the scars of the rites of the blood-brotherhood. In the case mentioned by Jauhari and Nowairī every tribe had a fire, and when two men had a dispute they swore before the fire into which at the same time a priest cast salt. An oath

*Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. ii, pp. 22-24. †Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol. i, p. 132.
‡Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. ii, pp. 79-90; *In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii, p. 379; comp. Wood, *Uncivilized Races*, vol. i, p. 440.
§Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 5, 9.

by ashes and salt is mentioned by Al-A'shā in a line cited by Wellhausen. The ashes of the cooking-pot are a symbol of hospitality. This oath may be an appeal to the bond of the common food or common blood that unites the tribesmen.*

6. This symbolism may be traced in many modern customs and superstitions. Sometimes the covenant idea is readily recognized; at other times there remain but survivals of the original meaning. At the ceremony of betrothal among the Mordvins, a Finnish people on the Volga, a prayer is offered to the household divinities, and then "the girl's father cuts off the corner of a loaf of bread with three slashes of a knife, salts it, and places it under the threshold, where the penates are believed to frequent. This is called the 'god's portion.'" He ratifies the terms of the betrothal, and again places bread and salt under the threshold, carrying it from the table "on the point of a knife—under no circumstances in the hands." Among the Erza of the Mordvins, when the bridegroom and his friends go to conduct the bride to her future home, her parents meet them at the door with words of welcome and bread and salt. In all such cases the bread and salt represent the body and blood of a sacrifice, and are offered in a covenant of friendship. This is clearly shown by comparison with many similar customs in which animal sacrifices are actually employed.† In Japan the threshold is sprinkled with salt after a funeral. "Many a Pennsylvanian is unwilling to cross for the first time the threshold of a new house without carrying salt and a Bible."‡ The use of salt has been found in survival of the feast of the dead. The devil is said to hate salt because it is an emblem of immortality and eternity. Reginald Scot cites Bodin as declaring that "the devil loveth no salt in his meat." The holy water employed in the consecration of Gallican churches, altars, and bells is mingled with salt, ashes, and wine, each separately blessed. In the early centuries salt was used in the baptismal rite.§

In a publication dated at Strasburg in 1666 there is an

*W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: Fundamental Institutions*, p. 460.

† Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 32, 33, 43, 44. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

§ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii, pp. 234-236; Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 367.

account of the celebration of "deposition" and the ceremony of salt. One of the heads of the college explains to the young academicians as follows:

> With regard to the ceremony of salt the sentiments and opinions both of divines and philosophers concur in making salt the emblem of wisdom and learning; and that not only on account of what it is composed of, but also with respect to the several uses to which it is applied. As to its component parts, as it consists of the purest matter, so ought wisdom to be pure, sound, immaculate, and incorruptible; and similar to the effects which salt produces upon bodies ought to be those of wisdom and learning upon the mind. . . . This rite of salt is a pledge or earnest which you give that you will strenuously apply yourselves to the study of good arts and as earnestly devote yourselves to the several duties of your vocation.

A pinch of salt was placed on the tongue of every freshman. Salt is used in connection with the Montem ceremonies of Eton. The boys give a pinch of salt to the spectators and receive a subsidy of money in exchange. The festivities were anciently celebrated on Salt Hill, which may have taken its name from this custom.*

Speaking of the Isle of Man, Waldron says: "No person will go out on any material affair without taking some salt in his pocket, much less remove from one home to another, marry, put out a child, or take one to nurse, without salt being mutually interchanged; nay, though a poor creature be almost famished in the streets he will not accept any food you will give him unless you join salt to the rest of your benevolence." Camden, in his *Ancient and Modern Manners of the Irish*, says: "In the town, when any enter upon a public office, women in the streets and girls from the windows sprinkle them and their attendants with wheat and salt. And before the seed is put into the ground the mistress of the family sends salt into the field." Bread and salt seem to have been used in some parts of Great Britain in taking a very strong oath. The salt oath is practiced in Japan. In the *Particular Divine Record* it is said: "According to Toyo-tama-fiko's command they gave him salt water. He drank it and said, 'If I break this oath may I never again eat salt!'" Sometimes before drinking the "salt juice" the parties to the oath bow in the

* Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, pp. 433-437.

direction of the four quarters of the heavens and the earth.* The spilling or overturning of salt is considered an evil omen. It portends the rupture of friendship. The salt falls toward him to whom the omen especially points. The threatened evil may be averted by throwing a small quantity of the salt into the fire or over the back or shoulder, thus repudiating the omen. In the celebrated painting of the "Last Supper" by Leonardi da Vinci the saltcellar is represented as overturned.

7. We have traced the employment of salt in the ceremonies connected with sacrificing and covenant-making in the Old Testament, in the writings of many classic authors, in ancient and modern customs among nations in all parts of the world, and in survivals in modern superstitions. We will now refer briefly to other primitive forms of covenant-making, this being necessary to a thorough understanding of our subject:

(1) The Blood Covenant. A native Syrian describes the rite as practiced in a village at the base of Lebanon. The two friends who were to enter into covenant brotherhood went with their neighbors and relatives to an open space before the village fountain. There they publicly announced their purpose, and their declarations were written in duplicate, signed, and witnessed. Each of the friends opened a vein in the arm of the other, using the same lancet, and sucked the living blood through a quill. After each incision the blade was wiped on a covenant paper. They then declared, "We are brothers in a covenant made before God; who deceives the other, him will God deceive." Each record was placed in a case to be worn suspended about the neck or bound upon the arm. Thus each brother-friend possessed a token of the indissoluble relation sealed in the blood of his friend. The essential part of the ceremony is the communion of blood. The original rite has been variously modified. The blood of a common victim may be employed; and even some substitute for blood may be sufficient. The whole sacrificial system of all ages among all nations and tribes of people finds its explanation in the mingling of life and communion in blood.†

* Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. pp. 160-166; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. i, p. 236; Hanns Oertel, in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. ii, p. 151.

† Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, pp. 5, 6.

(2) The Threshold Covenant. The threshold was considered a most sacred spot. Here it probably was that the primitive altar was placed. The threshold itself may have been that altar. The guest who stepped over the blood across the threshold entered into covenant relation with the family; but to trample upon that blood was to proclaim himself an enemy, and to enter the house by any other way was to despise all covenant obligations. There is a widespread aversion, under certain circumstances, to stepping over the threshold. Offerings are frequently laid on the threshold and oblations poured upon it. Amulets and charms are buried beneath, or placed behind, the door. In many parts of the world the guest who has once crossed the threshold or but touched that sacred spot is safe, and his host will protect him even at the hazard of his own life. Those who flee to the house of God or the city of refuge come under the divine protection.

(3) The Token Covenant. Marvelous incidents of magic power, wisdom, and prowess are connected in story with heroes of supernatural birth. The youngest brother is always the greatest hero. It is he who rescues the older brothers from the power of the witch, dragon, or ogre. It is he who sets the captive princess free and thereby wins a wife and gains a throne. The brothers set out upon their adventures either together or in the order of their ages. Before they separate they agree upon life-tokens, so that if one of their number meet with danger the others will be informed as to his peril. A knife struck into a tree will fall to the ground, rust, or drop blood to indicate danger; a tree will wither; water in a bottle will become cloudy or turn to blood. It was the Hebrew practice, according to the Babylonian *Talmud*, to plant a cedar at the birth of a boy and a pine at the birth of a girl. The tree and the child grew up, flourished, and died together. The life-token was considered as an actual part of the body of the person himself, a part of the same substance which produced his supernatural birth, an article of his property to which his own life had been imparted, or some other object magically endowed with his life.

The life-token would suffer in proportion as he himself was hurt. The mysterious sympathy between the hero and an object external to

himself is not merely that, actually or by imagination, the life-token has been part of his substance ; but further that, notwithstanding severance, it is still in unapparent but real connection with him, and consequently any mischance he may suffer will be felt by the life-token and reflected in its condition. The converse also is true. Any portion, actual or imputed, of the hero's substance, detached from him in appearance, continues in effect so united to him that injury to it will redound to his injury and perhaps to his death.*

The life-token, by extension of meaning, becomes the token of fidelity, a witness to the faithful keeping of covenant obligations. In a modern Greek folksong an apple tree explains the cause of its withering :

> They plighted a youth and a maiden beneath my shelter ;
> They swore by my branches that they would cling together,
> And now, because I know they part, my leaves are turning yellow.†

Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech, and planted a tamarisk as a witness or token of fidelity. The original belief that the token would suffer some change in order to indicate any breach of fidelity having been lost, it was reduced to a mere memorial.

(4) The Name Covenant. All primitive peoples seem to have closely connected, if not indeed confounded, the name with the person. It was frequently a condensed description of the character. With change of character, or some new revelation of character, a new name might be appropriately bestowed. Any person might be injured or killed by the magical use of his name. The possession of the secret name of a god would give the priest or exorcist power over that god. Great significance was attached to a change of name. In Babylonia and Assyria fearful curses were pronounced against any person who should dare to change or efface a name of good omen. Among certain tribes the words or parts of words which enter into the name of the chief or king are not used in conversation. An American Indian will not divulge his real name without the most grave consideration. A new name is frequently given when a child reaches the state of manhood or when an alien is adopted into the tribe. In the Bible a change of name is often connected with covenant-making.

* Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, p. 232.
† Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 266.

There is a secret and incommunicable name known only to him who receives it.*

(5) The Oath Covenant. This is most intimately related with the token covenant. Some object, animate or inanimate —the head, neck, beard, right hand, or some other part of the covenanting person, perhaps his life or his soul—is made a witness to the transaction. Sometimes a symbolic act is performed which, it is believed, by a sort of sympathetic magic is so closely connected with the performance of the covenant obligation that any failure in the faithful fulfillment of that obligation will inevitably work harm to the defaulting party to the extent of the curse invoked. When the oath is connected with a sacrifice the hand is laid upon the head of the victim, the altar, or the image of the god. Sometimes the hand is extended toward the object or deity by whom the oath is taken.† The passages of Scripture which these ancient covenants explain or illustrate are so numerous and so readily suggested that they need no special reference.

The blood covenant may be taken as the original type from which other primitive forms have been derived. Of equal antiquity, if Trumbull be followed, dating back to the life of the first human pair, is the threshold covenant.‡ If a person eats but the smallest morsel with another he is thereby bound to him in brotherhood. It is said, "There is salt between them." The brotherhood formed by eating together lasts as long as any portion of the "salt" or common food is supposed to remain in the bodies of the parties to the covenant; after this it must be renewed. The blood covenant is generally considered indissoluble. The covenant of salt is so considered in the Old Testament. It were the basest treachery to violate a covenant obligation (Psa. xli, 9; John xiii, 18). Since the worship of the temple has ceased the table of each Jewish family effects atonement for its members. The table is "before the Lord" (Exod. xviii, 12; Ezek. xli, 22).

* Appleyard, *The Kafir Language*, pp. 69, 70; Bourke, *Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. ix, pp. 461, 462; Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 153–156.

† Æschylus, *The Seven Against Thebes*, 530; Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, xii, 21; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 38; Plautus, *Rudens*, V, iii, 45; Livy, xxi, 1; Thucydides, v, 47; Justin, xxiv, 2; Homer, *Iliad*, xix, 254; Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, vii, 65.

‡ For full discussion see Trumbull's *The Threshold Covenant*, Appendix, pp. 243, *et seq.*

This idea that the table is before the Lord, that the enjoyment of the gifts of God is to be seasoned with the salt of religion, has produced a custom still observed in orthodox Jewish circles. After he who presides at the table has pronounced the benediction, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who causeth bread to grow out of the earth," he breaks the bread, and, having dipped into salt as many pieces of it as there are participants of the meal, hands them around, when each table companion repeats the blessing in a low voice after him. Such is the table that is before the Lord.*

In the blood upon the altar and the salt upon the table God and his people renew their covenant; the flesh of the sacrificial victim and the bread furnish the communion feast by which this covenant is ratified.

8. We are now prepared to study those passages of the New Testament which contain the word "salt" used in a symbolic sense. For instance: "Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men" (Matt. v, 13). "Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill: men cast it out" (Luke xiv, 34, 35). "For every one shall be salted with fire. Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another" (Mark ix, 49, 50). After the first sentence the margin says, "Many ancient authorities add, *and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt;*" and this agrees with the Authorized Version. "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer each one" (Col. iv, 6).

Salt has become indispensable to civilized life. Even those quadrupeds which eat only vegetable food seek salt where there are natural sources of supply. Primitive man may not have been acquainted with its use. Certain savage tribes use no salt at the present day. It is valuable because it is not only healthful to the human constitution, but it also counteracts corruption. This is the explanation of the prominence of salt in the sacrificial ritual. In the New Testament usage we have the preserving power of salt; but we also have its connection with

*Dr. M. Jastrow, in the *Sunday School Times.*

sacrificing. "Ye are the salt of the earth," or of the great mass of humanity. Christians preserve the world from utter spiritual corruption. Christians also make it possible for the world to be brought again into communion with God. There are a multitude of passages in the New Testament which find their explanation in this survival of the sacrificial idea, as: "The sufferings of Christ abound unto us;" "partakers of Christ's sufferings;" "the fellowship of his sufferings;" "the afflictions of Christ in my flesh;" "joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him;" "crucified with Christ" (2 Cor. i, 5; 1 Pet. iv, 13; Phil. iii, 10; Col. i, 24; Rom. viii, 17; Gal. ii, 20). Upon the first of these passages Meyer says, "Everyone who suffers for the Gospel suffers the same in category as Christ suffered." * If, then, Christians, who are the conservative power in the world and the agency through which the world may again be brought into loving communion with God—if they become unfaithful to their destiny; if the "salt" lose its savor, its essential quality, how can they raise themselves again into the power and efficiency of their calling?

The passage in Luke presents no feature which calls for separate consideration, and we come to that in Mark. "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt" is properly omitted in the Revised Version. It was probably introduced as a marginal gloss on the text, and thence crept into the text itself. It is omitted in four manuscripts of authority—two of the very first authority—and fifteen cursives, some of which are of considerable weight. Its retention in the text can hardly be justified. With this clause out of the way the chief difficulty in the interpretation disappears. We may now translate, "For everyone shall be salted for the fire," as "every disciple shall be prepared for the sacrifice." † We should be stern toward ourselves and deny ourselves lest we give offense to any weak child of God, having seduced ourselves into evil and become obnoxious to the punishment of Gehenna (Mark ix, 42–48). "The divine ordinance that every sacrifice is salted and made well-pleasing to God is fulfilled in the higher sense

* *Com., in loco.*

† So Baumgarten-Crusius, Linder, Edersheim, and others.

in this manner, that everyone is refined through the fire of tribulation, and thus made well-pleasing to God." *

"Salt is good: but if the salt," with which the spiritual sacrifice is to be salted for the fire, "have lost its savor, wherewith will ye season it?" Hence, "have salt in yourselves;" but do not let that salt be corrupted by making it an occasion of offense to others, as in the dispute by the way, or in the disposition of mind that led to it, or in forbidding others to work who follow not with you, but "be at peace among yourselves." †

The limits of a single article do not permit a more extended study of this part of the subject. We have found the "covenant of salt" and its survivals in both Old and New Testament usage; we have seen how wide the range of the symbolic use of salt among many nations in all parts of the world and down through the centuries even to the present time; and here, having pointed out treasure fields, we leave to others their more thorough explorations.

* Weiss, ed. Meyer.
† Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, p. 121.

J. N. Fradenburgh.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

This is Savonarola year, making four centuries since his martyrdom. The article in this number on "Savonarola and Rome," appearing at the end of this memorial year, will be found, we think, to be a clear addition to the literature with which the four hundredth anniversary has thus far been celebrated in reviews and magazines.

An American scientist and educator, long familiar with European universities, and now just returned from two years' observation of them, reports that in the past twenty-five years the German universities have stood still, while American universities and colleges have made rapid advance. The thorough scholarship and complete facilities which formerly existed only in Europe can now be found in our own institutions.

In a certain city is a pulpit long conspicuous for many things, and now at the zenith of notoriety for doctrinal innovations and the liberties it takes with traditional interpretations of Holy Writ. It has gone so far that the other ministers of that denomination in the same city have felt a necessity to free themselves from any suspicion of sympathy with it by issuing a public declaration that they must not be supposed to sanction such teachings. Among regular attendants, for the time being, on the ministry of that pulpit is a certain hard-headed business man of scrupulously clean and upright life, of good reasoning power and considerable reading, of reverent and religious spirit, and essentially a Christian. Listening to the teachings of the pulpit referred to, he has heard doctrines new to him, and various parts of Holy Scripture freely characterized as legendary. His opinion of the fairness and force of such biblical criticism was definitely and impressively indicated in the form of his comment on Admiral Dewey's achievement at Manila. Dis-

cussing with patriotic enthusiasm that enormous triumph, he exclaimed, "Why, if that story were in the Bible it would be called a legend. Some men would contend that it couldn't be true, and they'd try to prove it false scientifically by statistics of naval battles in general and the authority of experts, who would figure out such a one-sided result, in fair and open battle, between two fleets equally up to date and complete, to be impossible; and so they'd say they couldn't believe it."

His comment contains the adverse and sharply disapproving judgment of "the man on the street" upon the needless and unjustifiable disbelief expressed by skeptical criticism.

COMMON SENSE AND HYPERCRITICISM.

By common sense is here meant, not the crude and unenlightened incapacity manifest in the antiquated notions of ignorant multitudes, but the sound judgment of the intelligent and the judicious, of educated and experienced men, well informed, sober-minded, and wise. This shrewd sifting sagacity will have opinions on many subjects, testing and judging by general principles without minute technical knowledge of each specific subject. Over the specialist's shoulder leans the man of general education and trained intellect, attentive, eager to learn, meditative, fair-minded, convincible, but certain at the end to form his own independent judgment as to the validity and convincingness of it all. There is good reason for distrusting and declining to accept any conclusion which seems absurd or very doubtful to the roundabout common sense of the educated thinking world. Novel and sweeping conclusions from fragmentary data, wholesale demolitions of the founded and framed faith of centuries by some ambitious unproved theory, are invariably condemned by sound sense. Educated common sense often detects unsoundness without being able to point out precisely the mistake in the process, expose the flaw which enfeebles the argument, or locate the break in the cable which interrupts the continuity of rationality; and it rejects many special theories and affirmations by a wisdom distilled from the sum total of its knowledge. The Newark Conference heard this common sense speaking from the lips of Dr. J. T. Crane when he criticised a certain unsettling volume by saying: "It is one of those books which go along from chapter to chapter

plausibly enough in a casual reading, but when I get to the end and read the author's conclusion I know it isn't so."

The specialist, with his exhaustive technical knowledge, is indispensable in every department of research, and he must have unhindered liberty to investigate to the bottom. His business is to explore for facts and to report what he finds. Others not specialists can probably do better than he in adjusting his findings with existing theory and doctrine, or in harmonizing doctrines with any newly discovered and indisputable facts. The liability of the enthusiastic specialist, intoxicated with the exuberance of his own ingenuity, to be carried away into excesses of inference, prediction, announcement, is proverbial; twenty-five years ago an enthusiast in chemistry announced in our hearing that all the constituents of beef being ascertained by analysis it would soon be possible to manufacture beefsteak in the laboratory by combining the elements in proper proportion, but the secret of sirloin and tenderloin is still known only to the bioplasts which mysteriously build the tissues of ox and cow. Sometimes the specialist has a pet theory through which he looks at facts and sees them distorted; sometimes he offers his own speculations instead of scientific results; and then the comment of discerning and experienced common sense is, "This is guesswork; the man is pursuing truth, as it were, but pursuing it as a dog pursues his own tail."

No word of this is written to disparage the capable specialist —he is beyond question the most successful finder of facts, and mankind is indebted to his focused study and penetrating and exhaustive investigation for most of its knowledge; we only note certain liabilities to error and excess in order to show that the specialist's work needs to be supervised and supplemented by the inspection of broadly educated but unspecialized intelligence.

The impression made upon the educated mind by the excesses of hypercriticism in its treatment of secular history was indicated at the one thousandth anniversary of University College, Oxford, when Lord Sherbrooke, the chosen speaker of a great occasion, selected for his theme the iconoclasm of the New Historians, against which he protested, complaining that nothing is safe from their sacrilegious research, which seeks to resolve every tradition, however venerable and precious, into myth or fable; and, referring for illustration to a particular instance of special interest on the very spot where he spoke, he said: "For

example, we have always believed that certain lands which this college owns in Berkshire were given to it by King Alfred. Now the New Historians come and tell us this could not have been the case, because they can prove that the lands in question never belonged to the king. But it seems to me that the New Historians prove too much; indeed, they prove the very point which they contest. If the lands had really belonged to the king he would probably have kept them to himself, but as they belonged to some one else he made a handsome present of them to the college." This is quoted here because it breathes the disapproval which men of sober and conservative judgment often feel toward the unsettling work of suspicious specialists seeking to overturn with presumptuous innovation the presumptive knowledge of a thousand years; and because it fairly illustrates the inconclusiveness of some historical criticism, the facts used to substantiate new theories being often easily reversible for the support of the long-established beliefs. Lord Sherbrooke points out that, even supposing the facts to be as the New Historians claim to have found them, those facts do not surely support the iconoclastic inferences drawn therefrom, but may with equal force be used in favor of the traditional understanding. In the educated world at large there is little patience with the puerile antics of hypercriticism attempting to play tiddledywinks with accredited history, prying up and flipping away through the air the nailed-down facts on the pages of reputable records.

Even Mr. Huxley, taking note of the excesses of hypercriticism, regarded himself as far from being the most destructive skeptic of his time. As to himself, he claimed not to be as black as some men painted him. He felt himself unjustly treated by professional ecclesiastics, and protested against being called an atheist, a theomachist, or an enemy of religion—saying that he could stand being persecuted for what he did hold, but could not patiently endure being denounced for views which he did not hold. Conceding Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* to be a clever bit of polemic, he complained that it misrepresented the views of some whom it attacked; that, for example, the opinions which Balfour speaks of as "naturalism" are held by no human being. More and more as life advanced Professor Huxley, we are told, desired to have it noticed that he himself valued that side of his writings which is consistent with the

theistic view of life; and toward the last he frequently called attention to the significance and scope of the religious admissions of his own teachings. In conversation he eloquently defended the theistic argument from design, and referred to his volume of *Darwiniana*, where he had acknowledged in print that no evolution theory could disprove that argument or weaken its force. Like Gladstone, he was an admirer of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, which some professedly Christian men follow William Pitt in disparaging. Huxley praised it warmly, and pronounced its reasoning invulnerable and conclusive as far as it professes to go. In an Oxford lecture he forcibly showed that the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest as represented in the scientific theories of cosmic evolution entirely fail to account for the ethical element in man. His friends tell us of his rooted and reverent faith in the great ethical ideals, of his confession that they could not be accounted for by any known laws or offered theories of evolution, of his evident feeling that they are more important and imperative than his philosophic theory of knowledge would logically warrant him in explicitly declaring, and, most noteworthy of all, of the practical homage which he habitually paid, in word and in deed, to the majestic authority of those sublime ideals. Some students of his writings think he really left more possible foundation for the Christian faith than is left by some undermining philosophers and some catalytic critics who claim the Christian name. And there are indications that, with all his critical temper, Mr. Huxley was of opinion that some historical critics, in their work upon records secular and records sacred, have overdone their business, exceeded reason and common sense, and made themselves ridiculous. This opinion was back of the shrewd irony of his remark when Wilfrid Ward showed him several different accounts of the Metaphysical Society and its doings, and pointed out a number of discrepancies between the accounts; Huxley said, "Don't find any more, or the German critics will prove that the society never existed"—a straight thrust at the irrational captiousness of destructive critics in German universities and of their disciples in Great Britain and America. There is reason to believe that Professor Huxley would have agreed that the Tipperary gentleman who said in his speech, "My fellow-countrymen, the round towers of Ireland have so completely disappeared that it is doubtful if they ever

existed," might have gained notoriety as a biblical critic if he had turned loose his keen wits and remarkable reasoning faculties on the Old Testament.

A CONGO CRITIC ON THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

In the space of a thousand years changes many and great may come to pass upon this rolling planet. A great man once said, "We have no way of judging of the future but by the past." In the past the seat of empire and dominant power has migrated from continent to continent. History makes it not inconceivable that by the end of a thousand years there may be a mighty civilization on the continent of Africa, while nations now comparable to the Roman empire for extent and dominion may decay and fall by neglect of the conditions which the Power that makes for righteousness has decreed for the survival of states, and Macaulay's New Zealander may be seen engaged in archæological research among the ruins of spent empires and extinct republics.

In all soberness, supposing skepticism to be as rife and insistent a thousand years hence as now, and the historical critics of that time to be as smart and knowing as ours are to-day, what will the professor of ancient history in the great University of the Congo in 2898 A. D. probably do with such records as may then remain of our war with Spain waged in this intense, immense, and amazing summer, when the learned gentleman shall set his spectacles astride his nose to lecture on the history of the republic which flourished on the American continent ten centuries prior to his lecture?

He may easily remark in general by way of introduction that in all the literature of the nineteenth century one cannot find, even on the pages of avowed fiction, a story woven of wilder improbabilities than some parts of the professed history of the United States. He may observe that from the very beginning American histories teem with exaggerations; for instance, in their report that twice—once in the latter part of the eighteenth century and again in the early years of the nineteenth—they, being then but a young and feeble people, vanquished on sea and on land Great Britain, known as the mistress of the seas and an every way powerful nation. He will probably say that American records in somewhat later periods, as, for example,

in that of the civil war of 1861–65, are full of contradictions, the accounts of that conflict written in the northern parts being so full of direct contradictions of those written in southern parts that it is impossible to ascertain the facts of the case.

But he will particularly note that among human records ostensibly historic there are none quite so incredible as those of the Spanish-American War of 1898, except certain Hebrew records and certain Greek manuscripts several millenniums older containing accounts of various equally marvelous and unlikely events and portents. Turning to the first armed collision of the war he will examine that forecastle yarn, invented, doubtless, by imaginative jackies idling around when their ships were drifting and dragging in the doldrums, about how an American commodore with only six vessels crept through the dawn of a dewy May morning into the fortified harbor of Manila, a harbor planted with mines, bordered with shore batteries, and held by thirteen Spanish ships of war; how this war god of the sea opened fire at five o'clock in the morning and fought a while before breakfast as if to whet his appetite, then desisted and coolly breakfasted his fleet in the hostile, bristling, and banging bay, and when he was ready, and felt the warlike mood come over him once more, resumed action and blazed away merrily until by 7:30 that same morning, as an impartial eyewitness, a retired French naval officer resident on the shore between Cavité and Manila is said to have testified, Spain had every one of her thirteen warships sunk, burned, or captured, a thousand of her men killed or wounded, her forts on shore all battered into silence, and property worth ten millions of dollars destroyed. The critic of history will also note in the same chapter another forecastle yarn so monotonously similar as evidently to be written by the same romancer, who tells how another American fleet utterly destroyed a powerful Spanish fleet in West Indian waters, piling all its mighty ironclads one after another in a string, with incredible rapidity, on the rocks along the southern Cuban coast, killing hundreds of officers and sailors, and taking all survivors prisoners, so that not a ship or a man escaped.

The keen-eyed scholar will also point out numerous minor improbabilities in the records of this war; how unlikely, for example, that a war inaugurated for the simple purpose of driving the Spaniards out of Cuba, an island only seventy miles

from the American coast, would be begun and ended in the Philippines, twelve thousand miles distant from the United States, on the opposite side of the globe. Applying the law of probability to the records of our war, and happening on a description of that strange conglomeration of opposites known officially as the First Volunteer Cavalry, and popularly christened Roosevelt's Rough Riders, he may observe how contrary to all human likelihood it is that such a freak combination would voluntarily and of choice get together from widely separated sections—college prize men mixed with illiterate cowboys, grimy miners with dainty dudes, homeless tramps with sons of millionaires, malodorous ranchmen with perfumed dandies, the *jeunesse d'orée* of palatial homes and dazzling drawing rooms, bloody bandits and criminals dodging the sheriff with men of such superior character and eminent moral force as to be fit for cabinets, senates, and capitols; all these irreconcilables organizing into a mutual admiration society, rushing into each other's arms and falling on one another's neck to live together like brothers day and night for two years, to eat and sleep and march and dig and sweat and starve and fight and bleed and die and be buried side by side. The learned critic, familiar with the slow progress of the ascending ages, may remark that an overwhelming amount of evidence goes to show that the human race had not, in the nineteenth century, become such a happy family, so full of brotherly love, as such a heterogeneous, voluntary aggregation would imply. He may point out the mistake evidently involved in that part of the account which represents a certain general, named Joseph Wheeler, as having led part of the land forces of the United States in the storming and capture of Santiago; which account cannot be true inasmuch as General Joseph Wheeler is known beyond doubt to have been a deadly enemy of the American republic, so much so that he fought long and desperately to destroy it. The critic will regard as exceedingly improbable the story that at Santiago a force of thirteen thousand Americans fighting mostly in the open defeated, captured, and disarmed an intrenched force of twenty-seven thousand Spanish regulars, more than double their own number, fighting behind strong defenses, and from inside blockhouses and stone forts; a story which recalls that of the valiant Hibernian who boasted that, single-handed and alone, he captured five of the enemy, and when asked how he did it answered,

"I surrounded them." Dwelling further on the improbabilities which fill the American records, the Congo professor may inform his class that a learned Australian antiquarian mousing among ancient tomes has discovered a volume containing an estimate, made from official naval statistics by European authorities at the beginning of the Spanish-American war as to the comparative strength of the opposing navies. This estimate shows that, reckoning ship for ship, gun for gun, and man for man, the Spanish navy was on the whole superior to that of the United States, clearly outranking it among the navies of the world. In the face of such official statistics the whole story of uninterrupted and complete victory for the American navy over the Spanish is to the last degree improbable.

The acute historical critic will not fail to discover the many discrepancies which confuse and to his mind will discredit the history of this war; for example, at the outbreak of the war the Atlantic fleet of the United States is familiarly known and described as the White Squadron, while the fleet which sailed and fought in West Indian waters, and is represented as the same fleet, was dark gray; again, while much public ado was made at various times and places over the valor of the cavalry regiment called the Rough Riders in the land assault on Santiago, eyewitness accounts agree that no mounted troops were seen in the fighting there; again, while the vessels which blockaded Santiago harbor for many weeks are spoken of as Sampson's fleet, yet, in the fight which sunk Cervera's ships when they came out of the harbor, no one of that name had any share; a man called Commodore Schley is in command, with valiant captains under him named Cook, Philip, Evans, Taylor, and Clark, but no Sampson participating. In 2898 A. D. some critic may express his opinion that Schley was but another fabulous and ferocious sea monster like Dewey, or that Sampson was a mythical character no more historic and real than the more ancient Samson, whose story is found in the writings of the early Hebrews. If the professor shall indicate his adverse opinion by saying that the two accounts of the two Sampsons are probably about equally trustworthy he will be a better supporter of both records than he intends to be or is conscious of being.

Although not exactly in logical connection here, it seems not impossible that the venerable, dark-skinned professor in the

University of the Congo, unconsciously biased by something in his own nature and moved by racial pride, may dwell a trifle fondly on the large, manly, and heroic part reported to have been played at El Caney and San Juan Hill, and elsewhere in the reduction of Santiago, by four regiments of black men; and he may conceivably cherish the opinion that no part of the record of that war is more trustworthy than the account of the saving of the famous Rough Riders from annihilation in a Spanish ambush by a colored regiment which came to their rescue, charged in two directions at once on the Spaniards, and sent them flying right and left in tumultuous confusion; an early instance, the professor may complacently remark, of the African protecting the Saxon.

Attempting to explain how such incredible stories came to be written as history, he may say that they are partly attributable to the inordinate boastfulness of the Americans, who were regarded by contemporary nations as offensive and unconscionable braggarts, vaingloriously bent on making their own country seem the greatest, their countrymen seem invincible, and other nations to be as the small dust of the balance in comparison. In illustration he may cite certain records which tell how tall the American soldiers were, hundreds of them six feet high or over, many of them trained athletes and physical champions, so that the Spaniards wondered at their size and strength, and felt themselves to be as grasshoppers before them. He may instance the boastful statement that an American gunner killed more Spaniards with one shot off Santiago than the whole Spanish navy killed of the Americans in all the naval conflicts of the war; and the sweeping assertion that from beginning to end of the war, which wrested from Spain her colonies and swept her navy from the seas, no fleet or army of the United States experienced a single reverse, or so much of failure as would make one bad half hour. He will say that a good deal of this stuff must be pure braggadocio, that it is noticeable that these self-glorifying stories absurdly exaggerating the victories of the Americans are written by themselves, and are no more to be accepted than those very old accounts which the Israelites, who fancied themselves a chosen people especially favored of God, wrote concerning their own amazing and incredible victories over their enemies, explaining their unbelievable successes by alleging a special divine intervention on their behalf, using

such words as these: "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick." As did the Israelites, so did the Americans; telling astounding stories of overwhelming triumphs over their enemies, and then playing upon superstitious minds by explaining that the Lord was on their side, and dividing the credit between their own valor and God's miraculous aid. In the vanity of their self-conceit, in vainglorious boastfulness, and in the notion of being exceptional objects of divine favor, the professor may say, the Americans seem to have been not unlike the Israelites; and the accounts which the two peoples give of themselves are probably about equally untrustworthy.

The critic may especially point out that the most remarkable and invariable feature of all American accounts of the naval battles of the war of 1898 is that the historians allow nobody on their side to get hurt. All damage passes the Americans by and lights on the Spaniards. In the awful carnival of wholesale slaughter and swift destruction at Manila, where the Americans had six ships against thirteen, they relate that they had not one ship noticeably injured, not one man killed, not so much as a single gun dismounted or disabled. This prodigious miracle was achieved under command of a demigod called Dewey, who came from far-off mountains, among which he was born, a sort of inland Mars who chose the sea for his playground.

Again in the flying fight off Santiago the American story-tellers allow the formidable Spanish fleet to do no damage; they report not one American vessel crippled or seriously harmed, and no lives lost except that one man had his head shot off, probably because he did not wear the magical helmet which must have been part of the regulation uniform that made American sailors invulnerable if not invisible. And the gay and frolicsome fancy of the Yankee romancers gives a finishing touch to the highly colored tale of Santiago by picturing a private gentleman's pleasure yacht, unarmored and almost unarmed, fragile as an eggshell before the Spanish armament, venturing headlong into the awful *mêlée*, darting like a dragon-fly at two most formidable destroyers, engaging one of them at close quarters and piercing it so with her little guns that in a few minutes she sent it gurgling to the bottom, she herself, of course, coming out uninjured, as the consistent chronicler invariably relates, true to his patriotic habit of telling the biggest

possible lie for the glory of his country. An air of legend atmospheres the story of this war, and imagination burns its multicolored lights on every page. Miraculous victories, warriors invincible, ships and sailors invulnerable, holding a charmed life—these are the familiar paraphernalia and stage properties of legend and myth.

Will anyone say that it is inconceivable or improbable that some knowing historian, a thousand years hence, may make comments resembling those which we have suggested? And is it not possible that whoever shall feel it his duty to contend against the skeptical critics of 2898 A. D. will have no easy task? Will he not be obliged to admit that the professed history does tax faith almost to the breaking point, that some of it does seem highly improbable and nearly incredible? It will cost him no little labor to show that nevertheless there is good reason to trust the records, which on the whole are consistent with themselves and bear evidence of having been written in or near the time of the events by persons in a position to know the facts; and he may not be able to silence the iconoclastic historical critics unless some archæologist burrowing in the Iberian Peninsula or elsewhere shall unearth and decipher some Spanish or other long-lost records containing confirmation strong as Holy Writ of the story which the Americans wrote about their war and its improbable and astounding victories. The archæologist is frequently a useful citizen.

Far be it from us to cast reproach or attempt to put restraint upon the most searching critical scholarship in its testing of the trustworthiness of all records for the purpose of distinguishing between truth and fiction. We have only taken advantage of an opportunity to illustrate from familiar current history how possible it is for records, teeming with discrepancies and loaded with improbabilities, to be nevertheless true. The methods used to discredit Scripture history would equally discredit much other history, modern as well as ancient; and one is not a credulous fool who holds fast to his faith in the historicity of Christianity as written in the Old and New Testaments against the doubts and denials of skeptical critics; but he is a sad and shallow simpleton who gives up his faith in the Bible because critics say that it contains things inexplicable, discrepancies irreconcilable, improbabilities great and marvelous which they consider impossible.

THE ARENA.

"A NEW DEPARTURE PROPOSED."

In the *Review* of May Dr. Leonard proposed and discussed the above theme in his usually impressive manner. He raises a vital question for the consideration of the Church which it is hoped will not be cast lightly aside. A Rubicon in Church campaigns has at length been reached. It must be crossed, or the column turned backward. Let the leaders think and act wisely.

Dr. Leonard makes two propositions and discusses the relative value of each, for the purpose of bringing the Church to see clearly the great issues involved. It does not take long to see which of the two is correct and should determine the action of the Church. Every member should be interested, for certainly a responsibility rests on each according to his ability. That there has been great negligence upon the part of many of the members of the Church toward the Missionary Society there can be no doubt. That a Church with such a large membership, possessing such great wealth, and living in such ease and affluence fails to raise a million and half of dollars annually should make the cheek of every Methodist tingle with shame for the want of a more benevolent spirit. When it was discovered that the treasury was in debt and a request went out from the office that offerings should be sent in for its liquidation not more than a month should have been required to accomplish the entire work. It should have been done as a means of grace, and the Church would have been greatly benefited.

Can there be any reasonable doubt as to the correctness of the second proposition? Is it reasonable to suppose that intelligent Christians would have shut up in their souls for years the conviction that they should preach the Gospel to the heathen if God had not created that inwrought conviction? Easier by far to doubt the call of thousands of pastors at home. Fruit is generally taken as a proof of a divine call to a specified work. Judged by this rule, what will be the result? Are there not many unordained women in India or China who add more stars to the Saviour's crown than many popular pastors in America? Can we reasonably doubt the divine call of such a person? If we repudiate such proof as this let us discard all thought of a divine call, and let each rush to the field as he may think best, as did Nadab and Abihu. Is it not true that the great increase in our Church membership to-day comes from our missionary fields and from the circuits and outlying stations in our own country? Is it not also true that large churches are sustained more by reception of letters than by conversion? Why then should not the larger churches help by their gifts to sustain in a liberal manner those who are toiling in the sparsely settled fields? Who can reasonably doubt

that if the Church were to adopt the methods of the "Church Missionary Society," and send all who are divinely called, God would also arouse the Church to the duty and privilege of giving, and that the treasury of the Church would be overflowing? Is it not true that in the past the authorities of the Church have in effect said, "We have no confidence in God's influencing the giving of money, and we will not send missionaries till we have the money in sight?" According to their faith it has been unto them. May we not expect it will be so unto the end? If this doubting continues too long God will set us aside and call some more trusting agent into the field, as has been his plan all along the centuries.

On page 423 Dr. Leonard comes to the positive and practical part of the "departure," and proposes that if the plan is adopted and if the money does not come in to meet the claims of the missionaries the salaries "shall be scaled down on a per cent, the scaling down to apply to all employees of the Missionary Society, including missionary bishops and secretaries." He thinks that the heroic spirit of the poor missionary would accept such a scaling down without a murmur. No doubt of it. But why stop at the "scaling down" of the salary of the poor missionary who lives where every bite of bread and every bed on which he sleeps must be paid for in money, having no friend to give him a donation to help out, as at home? Why simply scale down on the missionary bishop who lives far away from home and kindred and on the secretaries who are called to that office? Why not also include every salaried man and woman in the Church—bishops, agents, secretaries, editors, presiding elders, and pastors? The end would then be accomplished in short order. This plan of scaling down would accomplish much more than the other. It would arouse many as they have never been aroused, and a scaling up would soon be the order. What can be the reasonable objection to this plan? Why not let the burdens be on the many and not on the few—on the strong men at home, as well as on the few who are absent from country, Church, and home?

But the "new departure proposed" does not go far enough. The Church has depended in the past on raising her money by spasmodic giving, when on some appointed day a bishop, agent, editor, or pastor has called upon the people to give to the cause of missions. Sometimes the great motive has been to give more than the previous year, or more than some other church. What proportion of any congregation has been induced to give on those conditions? Who says one tenth? And were the motives such as God could bless? Why not have the widow with her mite, as well as the rich with his larger gifts, bring an offering to the treasury of the Lord because of the love for the work? May not the Church learn a very profitable lesson from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society as to the manner and spirit of giving? That Society started without a dollar in the treasury. They asked each woman to give two pennies a week and a prayer, and to do this regularly from principle, laying away the amount weekly at her home where none but God saw it.

As a result they have gone on increasing their gifts and enlarging their fields of work, and have not had a year in which they have not closed up with a balance in the treasury. Now let the Church take a "new departure," and organize each class on a frontier circuit or in a station into a missionary society, asking the members to give a small amount regularly and devoutly because of the love of God and a desire for the salvation of the world. This will not prevent the rich from giving of their abundance, but it will cause them to give from a higher and holier motive. Does anyone say this could not be done?

The advantage of this system would be that it would throw the cause of missions on the heart of every member, and he would be thinking and praying about it weekly. If he did not give he would have the fact before him that he was alone retarding the onward cause of God while all the rest of his brethren were giving systematically for its advancement. This fact of itself would be a powerful stimulus to action. By this method high pressure and unseemly collections would be dispensed with, and all would move on smoothly and religiously. Of old God spoke to Moses and commanded him to speak to the people that they go forward. Moses spoke, and the people moved. Let every Moses of the Church speak now, and all will move forward and the waters of difficulty will part, if God and men have not changed. By this method we would have a Church praying as well as giving. Who says God does not desire the prayers of his people more than the money? He possesses the gold of the earth now, but he is asking for the prayers of his people, sometimes only to be disappointed. Such a system would make a devout Church, full of prayer and increasing faith. The religious power of the Church at home would be wonderfully increased, religious awakenings would follow each other, and the day of the Lord would begin to dawn on the earth.

This is the kind and quality of a "new departure" I would like to see inaugurated—one that would take hold of every man, woman, and child in the entire Church at home as well as abroad. Is not God testing his people by the many losses and failures? Millions of money in the Church, and yet we have been so long about raising a small debt of $200,000! Many of our own churches are in debt, and other people are suffering for the want of churches, while plenty of money is in the community. Pastors are not paid their small salaries, and the old superannuate and widow are being pinched in the evening of their lives. Let the Church go to her knees, acknowledge her shortcomings, bring the tithes regularly into the house of God, and see if God will not pour out such a blessing as shall make all hearts glad. We have gone long enough in the present course to find out that something is wrong. Having the largest debt in our history, while our riches have greatly increased, we yet have found great difficulty in freeing ourselves of this burdensome discredit. Let us have "a new departure," start out anew to give regularly and religiously, and see if God will not bless us most abundantly.

St. Louis, Mo. T. H. Hagerty.

THE POSTCAPTIVE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

One parts with the multitude of Bible characters hungry for further details when they are hurriedly dismissed with only a synoptical sketch. How refreshing would be a full biographical library made up from the daily diaries of Adam, Methuselah, Noah, and David! Yet no one save the recording angel possesses the records, and these will only be revealed in eternity.

But no brief outline creates a desire for more facts than the life of St. Paul. Luke abruptly closes the Acts by saying: "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house." What can we learn of his subsequent life? He was a prisoner at Rome on an appeal to Nero, the reigning Cæsar. The trial must have the presence of the rescript of the accusers and of witnesses. Traveling was tedious; Nero could delay the trial at will, and hence the two years' waiting. Paul's treatment was the mildest consistent with a capital charge, yet it involved a constant chain. Besides preaching daily sermons he wrote epistles to Philemon, the Colossians, the Ephesians, and the Philippians. These were mostly written to guard against certain growing heresies, as those of the Judaizers and the Marcionites. When Octavia, wife of the monster Nero, was divorced and murdered and the adulterous Poppæa, a Jewess proselyte, became his wife, she would be a dangerous factor against Paul. Nevertheless, at the hearing after two years he was acquitted.

It had been a lifelong plan of Paul to carry the Gospel into Spain (Rom. xv, 24, 28). Clement, who was a convert of Paul and afterward Bishop of Rome, says: "Paul preached east and west and reached the confines of the west." This signified in 170 A. D., with precision, Spain. Muratori's *Annals*, an authentic paper, affirms that "Luke relates many things, but omits one fact, the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain." The reliable Jerome affirms, "Paul was acquitted by Nero, and went to preach in the west [Spain]." Eusebius confirms the same statement. These fathers and historians are worthy of credence, and make it fairly certain that Paul traveled in Spain. Besides these facts there were later many traditions in regard to Paul which were sheer inventions of the monks.

In addition to Spain we gather from Titus and 2 Timothy that he must have visited Macedonia, Crete, Miletus, Ephesus, Nicopolis, and other places. In fact, the style and tone of these final epistles which exhibited the condition of the churches and the stage of growing heresies all casually require these premised travels. From Titus iii, 12, we learn his plan to winter at Nicopolis. Our reasonable conclusion is that at this place, about two years after his acquittal from the first imprisonment, he was again arrested and carried to Rome. Thereupon he writes 2 Timothy, his latest production; and from its tone we may reasonably infer such conclusions as that his former friends nearly all forsook him and fled, that this imprisonment was more rigid than the

former, and that he had a presentiment of an early martyrdom. Rome had been devoured by flames which were kindled, as the public surmised, by the secret command of the emperor Nero; and that monster, in order to divert the suspicion of the people from himself, accused Christians of the deed. Tacitus relates the very horrible death cruelties upon Christians under this charge.

It was now that Paul as a leader was brought to a second trial. In 2 Tim. iv, 14, he names Alexander as his accuser. Roman courts had degenerated under Nero. It was no longer an appellate court with the emperor presiding, but a single prefect—the emperor's tool and appointee—was Paul's judge. Custom made a hearing and decision on each charge separately. Paul records his first hearing in 2 Tim. iv, 16, 17, from which it would appear that no advocate dared to appear in his cause; that in the basilica where he pleaded for himself a multitude heard him; and that on this first charge he was acquitted, but held on the other charges which he expected would result in martyrdom. It was then he wrote his last message of victory, "I have fought a good fight." Being a Roman citizen he had one poor boon, for he was exempt from the stake and scourgings; and he died by the lictor's sword, the military method. This probably occurred about the first of June, 68, for Nero died, or rather committed suicide, June 11. Outside the gates of Rome on the Ostian Way, the mausoleum of Caius Cestius, the Westminster Abbey of ancient Protestantism, was probably the last resting place of St. Paul. Such is the testimony of Eusebius, Jerome, Caius, Tertullian, and others.

J. B. Robinson.

Rockford, Ill.

CHURCH MUSIC.

This subject troubles preachers, music committees, choirs, and all lovers of good singing. What can be done to make our singing more popular and profitable at the same time? Dr. Hatfield's article, in the May–June *Review*, answers the question to a great extent, but the people do not read the *Review*. I wish we could get the article before the Methodist public. Dr. Goodwin's article, in the July–August *Review*, would put the hymnal on a level with the chorus books, something we do not want. The *Epworth Hymnal* was a noted attempt at compiling a hymnal and choruses, and it was not a success. If we must sing choruses let them be published in the "*Gems* and *Charms* and *Shouts*." Some of our best and most popular hymns have been utterly degraded by amateur chorus-makers. We want to redeem "Alas! and did my Saviour bleed," "Amazing grace! how sweet the sound," and some other of our grand old hymns from jingling, senseless choruses. Our hymn book has hundreds of most "singable tunes," and we ought to teach them to the children and thus create a taste for good, stately Church music. Get the children's ears and hearts filled with good music, and there will be no room for the ditties they now learn to sing

in the Sunday school. Let them learn to sing out of our *Hymnal*, and then they can help with glad voices to increase the volume of song in the Church service.

If the next General Conference appoints a committee to revise our *Hymnal* I hope it will be wise enough not to displace our "grand old hymns" with light choruses. Let the "stateliness and cathedral solemnity" of our music alone. It might be well to expunge some hymns and replace some tunes with better music, if possible. But have we a Lowell Mason or Bacchus Dykes who is capable of displacing the unsingable tunes with music suited to Methodist hymns? It would be a good plan for choristers to teach the people to sing more of the hymns with particular meter. In those they will find some of our best hymns and music. At all events let us keep our singing up to a high standard.

Americus, Kan. C. R. Rice.

"A HIGHER RECONCILING TRUTH."

Optimism or pessimism—which is the truth? Subjective conditions, environment, limited range of vision too often determine our position here. Frederick W. Robertson in one of his discourses gives utterance to this most pregnant thought: "All high truth is the union of two contradictories. Predestination and free will are opposites; the truth does not lie between these two, but in a higher reconciling truth which leaves both true." There is glorious truth in optimism, of course; but there is also sad truth in pessimism.

We may take for our illustration the action of the waves upon the seashore. We see the advancing breaker, high and majestic, with its snowy crest; we have a vision of progress—optimism. But now, with a deep moan, it breaks upon the shore, retreats in confusion—most pathetic rout; we have all felt the undertow, when everything seemed to be going backward; here, also, is pessimism. But at the same time we may know that the tide is rising; and here is real progress. Is not this the truth of history? The wave of the Reformation rolled high and wide; then came spiritual decline. Another wave of spirituality—Mysticism; another decline. Spener calls back to the old spirituality, or rather calls to Pietism; reaction—Rationalism. Presently our own Wesley comes, and Methodism. What a revival wave was that! But a solemn inquiry is, has it spent its revival force? Is there reaction? What of Rationalism to-day? What of the higher criticism? What of ritualism and formalism?

Thank God for a large faith in the steady rise of this surging, struggling mass we call humanity toward the eternally good and true. But while we toss to and fro upon "this bank and shoal of time," grappling with many problems, it might be well to inquire at least, Where are we now? Jethro Boyce Coleman.

Loag, Pa.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL EMENDATION.

PERHAPS among all the changes of the late revision of the New Testament none is more striking and richer in food for reflection than that of Rev. xxii, 14. The King James version reads, "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." The version of 1881 reads, "Blessed are they that wash their robes, that they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city." The authority for the change is so strong there is no question that "wash their robes" should be substituted for "do his commandments." The ordinary reading would have been in harmony with the teaching of the Gospel, because works are the fruits of faith, but textual criticism has clearly shown that the former is the true text.

The form in the Revised Version is adopted by nearly all the modern critical editions of the Greek text—Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort. It is found in the Alexandrian and Sinaitic manuscripts, some of the cursives, and also in the Vulgate, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions. The recent revisers, while not aiming to form a text, have accepted the rendering "wash their robes," without any marginal notes of possible variation. The Clementine Vulgate adds, "in the blood of the lamb." * It is true that the text as it now stands, "do his commandments," is not without manuscript attestation, although not found in the greatest uncials. The Vatican has been quoted in its favor, but B is defective in the Apocalypse, and hence cannot afford us its valuable testimony; but 91, which Tregelles says is a "modern supplement" to the Codex Vaticanus, "B," employs "do his commandments." Some Eastern versions favor the old text. Cyprian, of the third century, whose writings have had great authority, also quotes the text as found in the King James version. With all the critical data before them, those best qualified to judge have thus with great unanimity rejected the familiar reading, and have substituted "Blessed are they that wash their robes." Commentators, such as Wordsworth and Düsterdieck, have adhered to the old reading, but future expositors will, we believe, base their interpretations upon the Revised Version of 1881.

This text is very striking, as coming so near the close of the apocalyptic vision. How similar in form to that other passage, Rev. vii, 14, "These are they which came out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." What a striking proof of the hold which the idea of salvation through the blood of Christ had upon the Church is this incidental correction of

* See Tregelles's *Greek New Testament* on Rev. xxii, 14.

an important text! Our works are to be the standard of judgment, but not the condition of salvation. "That they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city," is predicated of those who "wash their robes."

This text also illustrates very forcibly the harmonies of divine revelation. That a series of books at different times and by authors of diverse mental characteristics should preserve such uniformity that even the imagery of the Apocalypse vividly expresses it is a proof of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the intellects and hearts of the various authors, to prevent their departure from the great truths of the Gospel.

The question of the relation of works to faith is foreign to this discussion. Neither can be excluded from any exhaustive attempt to understand the sacred Scriptures. It remains as an established truth that the salvation of the soul is secured by faith in the atonement of Christ. This doctrine, so fundamental to evangelical Christianity, is asserted with great force in the text whose restoration is now accepted. The harmony of this teaching with the Pauline system of doctrine is clearly manifest, and is no insignificant proof of the inspiration of this book.

A careful and critical writer has noticed the tense of the verb "wash." It is in the present tense, "Blessed are they that keep washing their robes," and represents a continuous act, showing the necessity of a constant faith, a perpetual washing, lest the soul be defiled by the contact with a sinful world. This also brings to our notice a harmony between this passage and a very important one in 1 John i, 7: "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Here again we observe the tense of the verb "cleanseth." It is a present tense, and means "keep cleansing"—a constant influence of the blood of Christ. It seems to the writer that henceforth this passage will be recognized by the preacher as one of the richest texts on the cleansing power of Christ's atonement.

THE TESTS OF A SUCCESSFUL MINISTRY.

Every work in which men engage should be able to bear tests both scientific and practical. It is not sufficient that one perform his duties in accordance with the recognized principles of his profession. The results of his labors should be in harmony with the noblest ideals. Yet it would not be safe to judge merely by results, as these may sometimes be accomplished by unworthy means. There must be a scientific character to one's method to secure the highest success. We may begin, therefore, with the tests of a successful ministry.

It must have a proper purpose. The aim of the minister is, primarily, to save men, and, having saved them, to build them up in the faith. There may be other results accomplished by the minister which are incidental to his work and almost necessary. The advancement of educa-

tion, the betterment of the condition of the people in economic aspects, the improvement of social life, are consequences of the primary purpose of the ministry, and a true ministry cannot exist in its best form without these results.

Another test of a successful ministry is the means employed to accomplish the result, namely, preaching and pastoral labor. Under these general specifications there may be a number of subdivisions, but all are included in these two. The minister of the Gospel is a preacher and a pastor. As a preacher he must be faithful to Christian truth, since truth is the most sacred thing in the world and Christian truth the instrument of the Christian ministry. He will not for the sake of popularity speak anything which he does not believe, and will refuse to employ any truth which has not borne the test of careful and reverent thought and met the approval of his intellect and heart.

It is further important that the purpose of the preacher shall be accomplished in the best form. While it is conceded that the realization of the result is fundamental, one must take into consideration the means by which it is accomplished. The vehicle for the conveyance of truth is thought and language. No one can do his best thinking without the training of the intellect, both in ability to execute its work and in the use of the material which it employs. Hence scholarly preparation and literary form must not be overlooked when we are considering the tests of an effective ministry. He who would do the best things should do them in the best way. There are parts of every community where words that are rude may be as effective as those that are wisely chosen, but even the illiterate as a rule prefer strength of thought and choiceness of expression. We cannot omit, then, from our estimate of a successful ministry the claim that it must accomplish its results by such means as approve themselves to the most thoughtful people, as well as to those who are the most pious.

The highest test of ministerial efficiency is the result that it produces. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The souls that are saved through a ministry and the influences that are exerted will be fundamental tests by which the successful minister shall be judged. "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." In the great and final day when the Gospel heralds shall be called to give account of their stewardship before God all other tests will be centered in this: "What have you done for the souls committed to your charge?"

There is a further test of ministerial success which may be considered but should not be pressed, namely, the influence of the preacher on public affairs. He is primarily a man of one work. His business is to save men, and yet there are clergymen who by their relations to public life are able in their capacity as ministers of the Gospel to render great service to humanity. In the time of our civil war it will be remembered by many that Henry Ward Beecher, the eloquent orator and preacher,

rendered great service to his country in disarming the prejudices of the English people. At the same time Dr. John McClintock, then pastor of the American Chapel at Paris, rendered efficient service there which was recognized by the country and especially by President Lincoln. Sometimes in the current life of people at home a minister may be the means of great influence. When, however, he steps out of his chosen field it should be done with great care and in subordination of his fundamental work. As a general rule it may be said that the minister's public influence is most effectively employed by the silent effects of his example and general teaching. It is possible to gain high esteem in the public estimation by those who keep close to their special spiritual functions.

These remarks are intended to call attention to the recent death of Rev. Dr. John Hall, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York city. Perhaps no man of our time has met all the requirements of a successful ministry more completely than he. Every point which has been indicated above found its illustration in this distinguished minister. He would not have claimed for himself, nor would his friends claim for him, that he was a remarkable scholar, a brilliant genius, or a marvelous pulpit orator. Nevertheless, he combined so many high qualities as to lead all who knew him to recognize him as in the front rank of the American pulpit. Back of all his acquisitions and tastes and position there was that sterling, solid character without which all other qualities are practically useless. He never mingled in public affairs except those of the Church. He never resorted to any abnormal methods for gaining attention or holding his congregation. His life war that of a straightforward, honest, cultivated, faithful man who simply did his work and left the results to God. He affords a fitting illustration to young ministers of what is possible to everyone, in greater or less degree, who does his duty. His death fitly illustrates the honor which mankind pays to one who has been simply a preacher and pastor. It is true he occupied a great church, but other men have occupied great churches and left no such impression on the community as he. It is sometimes thought that pastors have no recognition in public estimation. Dr. Hall is an exception to this, and has shown us that the minister who does noble work receives the plaudits of the community. The public press recorded his death as a loss to the city and the country, and in many parts of our land, where he had never been seen, tributes were paid to this honored preacher. A prominent New York pastor said that the death of Dr. Hall was "a matter of national and international importance." All denominations of Christians realized that in his death they too had suffered loss.

What a tribute is this to the dignity of a true pastor's life! Goodness and greatness, combined in any sphere, and especially in that of the minister of the Gospel, cannot fail to accomplish blessings for the world and receive fitting recognition at the hands of the community he has so faithfully served.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

During the past quarter of a century Old Testament criticism has attracted much more attention on this side of the water than questions pertaining to the New. The battle regarding the authorship and authenticity of the gospels and epistles was waged in the early part of our century, and the evangelical or conservative wing was left in possession of the field. Since that time the forces have been gathered around the Old Testament, and the destructive critics have concentrated their attacks against its several books. Their efforts against Moses, David, and Isaiah have not been crowned with greater success than those of their predecessors against the evangelists and the apostles. Their forces have come to a standstill. And, if we read the signs of the times correctly, they are preparing for a graceful retreat. The extreme views of Wellhausen and Cheyne are everywhere being discounted. While many theological professors are arrayed on the liberal side, the rank and file of ministers and pastors hold with great tenacity to the more orthodox views, having found that the higher critics' Gospel is not calculated to bring the unconverted into active sympathy with the Nazarene.

There are, however, many in this country who are extremely liberal in their views of Old Testament criticism, while comparatively conservative on all questions pertaining to the New Testament. It has often puzzled us to see men who believed in the divinity of the Saviour and in the miracles recorded in the New Testament, men who accepted the inspiration of the gospels and epistles, but who at the same time all but rejected the supernatural element in the Old Testament, reducing its several books to the level of the sacred literature of other religions. If one can believe in the miracles performed by Christ and his disciples it is difficult to understand why he should call the mighty works done by Moses, Elijah, and others under the old dispensation the poetic creations of oriental minds, and so rob all Old Testament literature recording the miraculous of its historical character.

Rationalists and neocritics of the Strauss and Renan schools very consistently reject the supernatural element in both the Old and the New Testaments. To these Christ was either a myth or a fanciful creation and the gospels and the epistles are so many pious books written by the zealous adherents of the several sects. The words of Strauss are well known. He said : "Orthodox exegesis started with the twofold assumption that the gospels contained firstly history and secondly supernatural history; then rationalism rejected the second of these assumptions only to cling the more firmly to the first—that these books had in them pure, though natural, history. Science cannot stop thus half way,

but the first assumption also must be dropped and the question examined whether and how far we stand in the gospels on historical grounds." These bold statements discount the Gospel narratives to such an extent as to make them purely unhistorical, mere myths, invented by loving and admiring, though deluded, friends some thirty years after the death of our Saviour. Strauss went farther than all his predecessors who had been satisfied with seeing few legends and myths here and there in the four gospels. To use the words of Pfleiderer, he applied "the principle of myth to the whole extent of the story of the life of Jesus, to find mythical narratives, or at least embellishments, scattered throughout all its parts." We all know what harm the writings of Strauss did to the common people of Germany, and how they helped to alienate the masses from the Church in the Fatherland. And yet he, like many a destructive critic of less repute, had no idea of harming the Church or of bringing the cause of Christ into disrepute. He tells us in the Preface to his *Life of Jesus* that he wrote "in the assured conviction that none of these things harm the Christian faith." How passing strange that the author of *Leben Jesu* could write, "Christ's supernatural birth, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension remain eternal truths, however much their reality as historic facts may be called in question."

The ordinary mind cannot reconcile these apparently contradictory statements. There seems to be about them some metaphysical feat or philosophical legerdemain not easily understood by the average intellect, just as in our day there are those who deprive the Bible of almost everything inspired and supernatural, and yet stoutly maintain that they are the friends of the Bible and revealed religion. This is especially true of many Old Testament critics. Professor Robertson in speaking of this class well remarks: "Such scholars would do an invaluable service to the Church at the present time if they would explain in this connection what they mean by inspiration and define wherein their position differs from that of critics who profess no such reverence for the Old Testament. . . . It seems to me vain to talk of inspiration and authority of books till we are sure that they are credible and honest compositions, giving us a firm historical basis on which to rest." Too many Christian scholars have adopted the conclusions of the ultra-neocritics, who have no sympathy with the processes of reasoning leading up to their deductions. There are those who have one canon of criticism for the Old Testament and another for the New. So it turns out that one is ultra-radical on the Pentateuch and Isaiah and conservative on New Testament criticism.

Wellhausen's theories regarding the Old Testament are well known, but not so well his strictures upon the New. One has, however, only to read his *Israelitische and Jüdische Geschichte* in order to see that the learned Göttingen professor fails to discover anything superhuman in Jesus Christ. He explains the term "Son of man" as merely another expression for man, or what the Germans call "*Mensch*." We are informed that our Saviour had no thought of replacing the Jewish Church by

Christianity. He denies Christ's resurrection, and claims that the gospels do not present this doctrine as a well-authenticated fact.

Take another leader among the German critics, Professor Herrmann, of Marburg, perhaps the leading exponent of the Ritschlian doctrines in our day. Not long ago this great theological teacher stated in an address that we must change our views all along the line, not simply in regard to the Bible, but also in regard to Christ himself. If correctly quoted—and there is no reason for doubting this—he said, "It is impossible for us to think of Jesus as highly as men once did." Such a statement attracted great attention at the time. It is indeed refreshing to hear the following comment from Professor Harnack, who is growing more conservative as the years roll on. He says, "There is no category, be it reformer, prophet, founder of religion or what else, under which we can classify Jesus Christ. . . . There are manifold revelations, but for us there is only one Master and Lord."

Perhaps the most remarkable contribution to New Testament criticism of recent years, in our own country, is the book called *The Apostolic Age.* Some of the statements are exceedingly bold and destructive in their nature. The traditional views are generally rejected. The Acts of the Apostles is the subject of long discussion. This book, it is held, was not written by Luke, but by some unknown hand at least a generation after the death of St. Paul. It is of composite origin, made up of different sources, whether manuscripts or oral traditions. Of the four gospels Mark alone is the only one written by its reputed author. The epistles of Peter are not from the pen of that apostle. The first of them may have been written by "Barnabas, Peter's old friend." The pastoral epistles can hardly be Pauline, but the work of some unknown redactor. True, they may contain an underlying Pauline substratum, "but the Christianity of the pastoral epistles is not the Christianity of Paul." Much is said of the Pauline and Petrine elements in the several books, of the teachings of the two parties in the apostolic Church, and of their misunderstandings. The passage that will shock most people is in a note regarding the Lord's Supper, wherein we read, "At the same time the fact must be recognized that it is not absolutely certain that Jesus himself actually instituted such a supper and directed his disciples to eat and drink in remembrance of him (as Paul says in 1 Cor. xi, 24, 25). Expecting as he did to return at an early day (comp. Mark xiv, 25), he can hardly have been solicitous to provide for the preservation of his memory." We have been so accustomed for years to hear of the mistakes and blunders of prophets, priests, evangelists, and apostles as no longer to be astonished at such utterances from our liberal friends, but the implication that even our blessed Lord himself might have held erroneous views regarding the future is certainly a little more than we might expect from one claiming to be an evangelical professor of theology.

What then are the signs of the times? Are we growing more or less conservative? Certainly Old Testament criticism has come to a stand-

still, and the current of thought seems to be drifting away toward more sober views. The theories of Wellhausen will not be adopted anywhere without considerable modifications. And in regard to the New Testament the Church has long ago everywhere rejected the advanced views of Baur and the Tübingen school, which granted the Pauline authorship of only four epistles, namely, Romans, the two Corinthians, and Galatians. Most scholars in our day accept the Pauline authorship of almost all the epistles bearing Paul's name, and no longer deny that the four gospels were written in the first century. Even the epistles of John are regarded as having come from the pen which wrote the fourth gospel. And as for the Book of Acts critics generally agree that it is historical, not the patchwork of several lesser documents, but the work of St. Luke, the author of the third gospel. It is really grand to see how the conservative side has triumphed and how the old-fashioned orthodox views are gaining ground in all the universities and pulpits of Germany.

The wide chasm which used to exist between the scientific or, as we would say in this country, professional theologian and the practical pastor and intelligent layman is being gradually closed up. The former was wont to look with semicontempt upon the plain minister who might be rash enough to doubt his *dicta* or raise any question whatever concerning his utterances on biblical criticism. The few Zahns and Rupprechts who attacked the critics were regarded as theological cranks. These, however, persisted and grew in number and importance; their objections were gradually noticed and their questions answered until at length an effort was made to harmonize this growing, opposing host. The liberal wing has now established an organ at Göttingen, *Der Theologische Rundshan*, the object of which is to popularize biblical study and criticism so as to bridge over the chasm between the two opposing camps. No one can read this new monthly without being struck with the great and numerous concessions made by the so-called historical or critical school, as well as with the fact that the New Testament critical scholarship of the past twenty-five years has been growing more and more conservative. The minute study of archæology and profane history as revealed in the inscriptions and monuments of the first century of our era in Asia Minor and elsewhere has placed the evangelical views on firmer foundations. There are so many little things, "undesigned coincidences," which corroborate incidental statements by New Testament writers once stamped as unhistorical by the critics. Few indeed are those who deny that the entire New Testament was not written before 100 A.D.; fewer still are they who would eliminate all the miraculous and supernatural from this book or who would rob it of its historical character because containing these. Thus, at the close of our century it has come to pass that the names of Paulus, Baur, Strauss, Renan, Pfleiderer, and others of less repute—brilliant and learned as they were—are mentioned as the exponents of exploded theories.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

SELF-SUPPORT ON THE FOREIGN FIELD.

From time to time we have called attention to the fact that the Churches on foreign mission fields have vigorously addressed themselves to the phases of development which will make an indigenous, self-sustaining, self-governing, and self-propagating body of Christians. The subject of self-support is by no means new. In Dr. Butler's *From Boston to Bareilly* he emphasizes the fact that from the first the India Mission sought, not to raise up "a body of native preachers supported by foreign money, generation after generation—stipendiaries upon mission funds—while the Churches they serve are in a great degree left free from the obligation of self-denial and liberality which should support the native pastors." And he then adds, "We have never allowed them to settle down into the notion of being pensioners of our Missionary Society." There are at present nearly fifty thousand Christians in the North India Conference, and great care is required to wisely enforce this policy. The result, all things considered, is highly satisfactory. In this Conference there are eighty-nine circuits, having each a preacher-in-charge, though there are but seventy-eight pastors. To the support of these the native churches contribute an aggregate of about one half the total sum required. In one presiding elder's district are fourteen pastors, wholly supported by indigenous funds. In every district the churches pay something for self-support.

In our Japan and China missions similar attention has been paid to the subject, with, on the whole, quite satisfactory results. The Japan Conference resolved that all missionaries, pastors, and preachers should contribute at least one tenth of their incomes to the Lord; that on the national holiday—called "Niiname"—they would take up a special collection for self-support; and also that on Good Friday special prayer should be made for self-denial, that the matter of giving might become a pleasure and not a burden.

The native churches under the supervision of several other missionary societies have reached an advanced stage in self-support by training the native Christians from the beginning to contribute one tenth to the Lord. In Ceylon the American Board missionaries testify that native teachers in government as well as in mission employ, on receiving their pay, at once count out one tenth of it as not their own. Christian farmers, as soon as they reap their rice while yet in the fields measure out one tenth, while every tenth tree is the Lord's plant. The native Christian women, also, each day as they prepare their rice take out a handful and put it into the "Lord's box." As a result they now have twenty-three churches, whose pastors are almost entirely supported by

native Christians, and they have also their own native Bible Society, Tract Society, Sunday School Society, and even a Foreign Missionary Society. All this though they are still very poor people.

Several things seem to be generally conceded in this matter, one of which is that the simplest and surest way to secure self-support is to begin it, in whole or in part, with the very commencement of the organization of a church. It is vastly more difficult to re-form than to form the practice of these churches.

Yet some are coming to feel that there is a possible severity in the early application of the demand for indigenous self-support. Dr. Nevius, whose success in developing an indigenous church in Shantung, China, was admired at one time as phenomenal, held that it was inadvisable to give any financial aid to the native church at any stage of its growth. Quite an extended symposium was recently published, giving the opinions of experienced China missionaries on the results of Dr. Nevius's plan, which tend greatly to modify the estimate in which it had come to be held. Evidently there are conditions in which native Christians, however self-denying, need help in the expansion of their work.

Another thing which needs attention is the application of the term "self-support" to the sustenance of pastors only. In the connectionalism of the Methodist Episcopal Church native Christians are taught to give to the support of the Church as such, so the application of the contribution to pastors, evangelists, church erection, or the Missionary Society is all included in the term "self-support," while in other missions that term is strictly confined to sums raised for pastors.

There is still another point of great importance to the Churches in Christendom. Rev. S. A. Perrine, of the Baptist Assam Mission, says self-support will not result in what many are hoping it will do. If the agitation of the subject and the success of efforts to secure self-support leads people to think it will take the place of their contributions and obedience to Christ's command to evangelize the world, then, says Mr. Perrine, "let it be known that 'self-support' is not a revised version of 'Go ye into all the world.' Obedience to Christ's last command is better than all the 'self-support' in the world." Besides, self-support will not lessen, but increase, the demand for money from Christian lands. Success in the native Church will open new avenues which they cannot enter, just as machinery increases the demand for labor. Self-support is to afford a new energy, not to lessen any existing one.

MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

The Churches are coming to realize that Islamism is so distinct from both Judaism and heathenism that missionary effort among Moslems must be conducted on special lines, and that this special work among Mohammedans has been too much neglected. There are in Europe some 5,750,000 of the followers of Mohammed; in Asia and in the Eastern

Archipelago (as estimated), 169,000,000; in Africa, 40,000,000; in Australasia, 25,000.

More than one fourth of these are citizens of the British empire, India alone containing roundly sixty million Moslems, and under the protection of the British raj the danger to life of Moslems wishing to change their faith is reduced almost to the vanishing point. An eminent writer has pointed out that India is the place where Christian and Mohammedan can meet most fairly with a prospect of mutual understanding. This rare opportunity involves an increasing obligation to give them the Gospel. Much has been done by magnificently equipped pioneer missionaries among Moslems in India. A goodly number have become Christians, but the Moslems have in turn made large accessions from the descendants of the aboriginal races throughout the peninsula of India, the toleration accorded by the British government having thus worked both ways.

There has been educational work in Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, and the Bible and tract societies have done something toward the preparation for advance in many places. But never since the Crusades has the Moslem population so forcibly demanded the attention of the Christian world as within the last decade. The atrocities in Armenia shook the Church and the nations of Christendom out of their indifference and marred the hopefulness with which they had come to consider the Mohammedan population of the world. These abominations jarred the impression which had in some way come to be made that, since Islam contained much truth about the unity and sovereignty of God and taught principles of total abstinence and some other phases of morals, much was to be hoped for in the advance of Mohammedans toward other phases of Christian truth. Those who were imbued with the broad charity toward all the religious communities of the world were becoming disposed to champion even Islam as a faith to be tolerated till it could gradually be regenerated. All this confidence was rudely dispelled by the Moslem massacres in Armenia. Then came the revival of the fanatical militarism of Islam in the advances made by the armies of the sultan in Greece —the movement awakening apprehensions of the solidification of Mohammedans in a general effort to strike at all measures of reform and all movements to Christianize Moslems. The Christian nations have thus come to realize the fact that the Moslem is still a force, and a force antagonistic to all progress.

The British government has given to Islam a setback by demanding disarmament in Crete and the withdrawal of Turkish soldiers from that island. But the severest disturbance that has come to the Moslem world in many a day is the advance of British arms into Upper Egypt and the utter overthrow of the Mahdi in the Soudan. The flower of the Moslem forces were met in their fiercest and most fanatical charges and were utterly destroyed. This means the destruction of the prestige of Mohammedanism in all Africa. Forty millions of Islam in Africa were interested in that contest, and this, added to the abolition of slavery in

parts of eastern and western Africa which set slaves free from the enforced adoption of the religion of their masters, must have a far-reaching tendency to the humiliation of Islam throughout the continent.

"ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE."

Catch-words, party calls, and other cries around which popular sentiment crystallizes are often worthy of attention for reasons quite other than those which are apprehended by the authors of them. Do we measure the missionary meaning in the current phrase "Anglo-American Alliance?" Great Britain holds a foreign policy which recognizes national responsibility to govern all conquered peoples for their interest, though indirectly this may accrue to British prosperity. A writer of England says, "Not national glory, not territorial expansion for its own sake, not maritime supremacy, as though it were an end in itself, is the reason for England's present place in the world." God has given her a grip on the unevangelized portions of the world till she is, to-day, "at once religiously the greatest Christian, the greatest Moslem, the greatest heathen power in the world—and the power which holds the sacred seats of the Buddhist as well as of the Hindu faiths, and commands from Aden the birthplace of Mohammedanism." Great Britain, since the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, has not shrunk in her colonies from meeting her responsibility as a nation bearing the Gospel in trust.

Dr. George Smith, of Edinburgh, has said that the foreign policy of the United States is missions. But this statement must assume a totally new interpretation if we are to become an ally of Great Britain. As a nation we must stand for the widest religious toleration in all the islands of the seas which may come under our protection, while at the same time baneful ecclesiastic organizations are held in check. God has imposed on us the duty to see that religious intolerance in Cuba or the Philippines shall not repress the freedom of religious choice and work by anybody. The quarrel of Henry VIII with the pope opened England to the free circulation of the Bible; the entrance of the Italian army into Rome in 1870 included the entrance of a Baptist missionary with a cartload of Bibles; and the triumph of American arms in Cuba must mean the return without injury of Rev. Albert J. Dias to the Baptist Church of Havana, from which General Weyler drove him. In the Philippines it must mean that the priests and monks at Manila shall not again prevent the establishment of a Bible Society, whether British or American, at that place. It must mean fair play to the people who have risen against the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, or Jesuits as the virtual rulers of the land. We do not have to raise the issue; it is raised. The insurgent chiefs in the Philippines made the condition of their surrender in December, 1897, that these friars be expelled or shorn of their power. It will be incumbent on the Churches of America to introduce a pure Gospel, but the nation must keep the road open.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

G. Frommel. Contrary to the opinion of many theology continues to ask questions concerning the effect of the doctrine of evolution upon religion and morals, and the learned world is not ready to allow the doctrine mentioned to go unmolested on its way. Many unbelievers, either because of ignorance or preference, assert that in the contest of evolution with theology the former has won, and that all educated men to-day acknowledge the fact. In truth, the word "evolution" is employed in so many different senses and is applied in so many different realms of being that it would be foolhardy to make any universal affirmation regarding the acceptance or nonacceptance of the doctrine. Certain it is that they are more nearly correct who deny, than they who affirm, the general acceptance of the doctrine of evolution as taught by Darwin, Spencer, or Haeckel, its most widely known advocates. But even if in the physical world the truth of the doctrine could be admitted, still from the standpoint of religion and morals all thoughtful men would be compelled to raise a doubt. This Frommel does, representing thereby a numerous company with regard to ethics, in a recently published work entitled *Le danger moral de l'évolutionnisme religieux* (Lausanne, Payot, 1898). His principal objection is not to the doctrine of evolution, but to the attempt to make it the sole principle upon which all phenomena are to be explained. Particularly does he object to the reduction of the phenomena of the mental life, including the ethical and religious, to the plane of physical nature. He points out how impossible it would be for one thoroughly imbued with the idea of the universality of the application of evolution to be possessed of moral convictions, or to engage in religious activities, and shows that the doctrine of evolution when applied to ethics conflicts not only with the principles of Christian ethics, but also with all ethics. These are sweeping conclusions, but we are constrained to feel that they are correct. The real source of the difficulty is, however, not emphasized by Frommel. Atheistic evolution is dangerous, as he affirms, but theistic evolution is perceived by many thoroughly orthodox and evangelical minds to be perfectly consistent with both morals and religion.

Edgar Hennecke. Interest in the catacombs does not decrease, as is evinced by the recently published studies of Hennecke, entitled *Altchristliche Malerei und altchristliche Literatur. Eine Untersuchung über den biblischen Cyclus der Gemälde in den römischen Katacomben* (Early Christian Painting and Literature. A Study of the Biblical Cyclus of Pic-

tures in the Roman Catacombs). Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1896. All writers have attempted to connect the decorations in the catacombs with utterances of the early Christians; but they have generally made the latter illustrative and explanatory of the former. Hennecke's peculiarity in this respect is that he makes the utterances of the fathers and the paintings to be two independent yet harmonious exhibitions of the same spirit and purpose. Both had in mind the portrayal of God as he was revealed in the Old Testament, and as perfectly revealed in Jesus Christ. For this purpose the early Christian writers cited passages from the Old Testament; and for the same purpose the early Christian artists portrayed scenes from the lives of men of God, including Jesus himself. According to this theory thought was not only put into each painting, but the same thought was put into all. The pictures were not so much the expression of feeling and hope as witnesses and instruments of their intellectual belief. They must be studied as a whole, not as so many distinct works, if they are to be understood. The contrast between Hennecke and his predecessor is more strongly illustrated by the fact that, while he sees in these pictures a declaration of their beliefs relative to God, most interpret them as pointing to the hope of resurrection. We cannot believe, as do some, that merely or chiefly æsthetic or decorative purposes prompted those early Christian artists; as compared with these objects we certainly regard Hennecke's conception of a dogmatic object preferable. Nevertheless, it does not appear likely that they had any well-defined purpose. Their feelings, rather than their reason, found expression in their paintings and decorations. They did not decorate the catacombs, as authors wrote treatises, for a didactic purpose, but as an expression of the most sacred feelings known to the human heart. As such they have for us a boundless significance, and are touching signs of the tender and fervent spirit which filled the heart of the early Christian Church, and manifested itself in manifold expressions.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Zeittafeln und Ueberblicke zur Kirchengeschichte (Chronological Tables and Summary Views in Church History). By H. Weingarten. Fifth edition, revised and extended by Professor C. F. Arnold. Leipzig, Hartung und Sohn, 1897. An excellent revision of an excellent work, which first appeared in 1870, is here offered to the student of Church history. In the preparation of such a work many difficulties are involved, among which a chief one is the exact fixing of dates. This revision has availed itself of the careful and scholarly investigations of such men as Harnack and Zahn in the history of the early Church, and is also marked by care in the dates of the later periods. Another difficulty is the choice of matter. This depends for its value upon the individual judgment. There are many things so evidently important in Church history that no

one would think of omitting them; but if the tables and summaries are not to be confined to these, but are to include minor facts of mere local interest, which of the many thousands of such facts shall be selected? This work, perhaps, does as well as any such book could do in this respect. A reviewer has criticised it for giving the date of the order for the reconstruction of the cathedral in Berlin—March 29, 1888. But, relatively to the ecclesiastical life of Prussia, and particularly to the history of Church architecture, which is certainly a part of Church history, such an order is of first importance. Besides, it is one of those minor events which will be relatively very prominent in Church circles in Germany for years to come; and it will be convenient to have the date of the order on record where it is easy of access. The same reviewer suggests that the book might have contained the dates of certain discoveries in the realm of natural science which have excited controversy or modified theological thought. We incline to think the criticism well founded. Another difficulty is to make the dry facts of a table of events and dates vivid. This, indeed, cannot be done wholly by the author or compiler. The student must bring his interest in the subject with him. But perhaps this work does about all that can be done to stimulate that interest. It so synchronizes events as to make possible the comparison of progress in historical development in different departments, and as to enable the student to associate events, and thus the more easily hold them in memory. This method is made more practicable by the new form of the book, the quarto instead of the octavo. The larger form enables the eye to take in at a glance wider groups of facts. Such a work is useful chiefly as a reference book. Dates cannot be remembered in large numbers, at least by the average student, without long and continuous acquaintance with history; nor is it important that many dates should be held in mind. But for reference or for a summary review such a work is of inestimable value.

Die Entwicklung der Menschen im Lichte christlich-rationaler Weltanschauung (The Evolution of Man in the Light of a Christian-rational View of the World). By C. Andresen. Second edition, Hamburg, 1892. This book is interesting chiefly for its chapter on "Gesetze und Zufall" (Law and Chance), of which we give a summary: We recognize in the world definite laws. These lead us to infer a will as their cause, since a law is the expression of a will. In the law a will makes known what it wills. The same laws rule in all parts of the universe, and hence one will gave us all natural laws. These laws are unchangeable, and what develops according to them develops of necessity as it does. If the results of all activities were determined by this will the world would be one great mechanism. But we observe that some things are left to chance. Man has five fingers on each hand. The number is fixed, not fortuitous. But a tree has no fixed number of branches. A bird flying to its nest

drops a grain of corn which springs up and grows according to fixed laws, but the place of its growth was accidental. If one stand on a mountain and hurl two stones with the same hand at the same time into the valley the stones will fall upon different spots according to the greater or less velocity they received and according to other modifying circumstances. But, as the result of these influences was not determined by any law or will, the position of the stones is fortuitous. If an unknown book lies before a reader the page to which he turns is determined by the insertion of his finger between the leaves; yet this is not determined by any law, but is accidental. The word "chance" does not mean that a thing occurs without a cause, but that the result of the cooperation of various laws is not itself determined by a will or a law. Chance is planless causality as distinguished from designed causality. In this sense no one can deny chance in nature. Without chance in the world-process men could not be distinguished from each other. Since no phenomenon originates without a cause, the existing irregularity and chance must have been willed by the creative will. On this basis the author founds an argument designed to show that creation did not proceed according to the supposed scheme of making everything complete from the beginning, but upon that of leaving some things at least for the exercise of the creative will subsequent to the beginning of things. He confesses that the world cannot be explained on the theory of a mechanism not influenced by something without itself; in this he is, it would seem, indisputably correct as well as consistent with himself, but we are not quite satisfied that Andresen has found the whole truth.

Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus (The Psychology of the Apostle Paul). By Theodore Simon. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. Works on biblical psychology are all too infrequent, probably on account of the doctrine that the psychology of the Bible is not binding upon believers. We have no disposition to dispute this doctrine if properly understood. But it is evident, since Christianity is not merely a doctrine concerning God but also concerning God in his relation to the soul, that the pyschological presuppositions of those who convey to us the revelation cannot be far astray if their revelation is to be held as true. Consequently the study of New Testament psychology is an absolute necessity to a correct understanding of Christian theology in its practical aspects. In the present book Simon regards Paul as the psychologist among the apostles, and also as being superior to the empirical psychologists in the fact that he recognizes the damage which sin has brought to the entire inner nature of man. For this reason Simon thinks that Paul should have received greater attention in the history of psychology than he has. In the first part of the work he sets forth Paul's idea of the external or bodily nature of man under the concepts (1) of σῶμα and (2) of σάρξ and δόξα. The σῶμα is that which gives the

form, and is higher than the body and continues after its dissolution. In this way Simon explains the difficulty found in the fact that Paul denies the identity of the earthly and heavenly bodies (1 Cor. xv, 35, *f.*; Rom. vii, 24; 2 Cor. v), and yet seems to presuppose their identity (Rom. viii, 11, 23; Phil. iii, 21). The only sin which affects the σῶμα is unchastity. He does not touch the question whether the σάρξ is in and of itself sinful, but simply says that except for human guilt a transfiguration of the σάρξ into the δόξα might take place without intervening death. The second part describes the inner or spiritual nature of man. As a whole it is called "heart;" in certain of its aspects it is now ψυχή, now πνεῦμα. The last-named element is that which rules the fleshly-psychical life, and which relates us to the higher world recognized by Paul. The heart is thus regarded as the seat, not only of the emotions and the will, but also of the intellect. When he comes to speak of peculiar psychological conditions Simon considers man first under the influence of sin and then under grace. By sin Paul means the personal, demoniacal power of moral evil, present and operative in our flesh. Simon finds in Paul no reconciliation of this with the fact that the apostle treats sin as the responsible act of the individual. Right here is the weak part in Simon's book. He is in error when he attributes to Paul the thought of sin as a foreign personal power operative within us. A foreign power he does hold it to be, but not personal. We are responsible for its fruits because we employ it for our own personal gratification.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Convention of German Freethinkers. This assembly, held in Hanover during the last summer, served to exhibit the fact that atheism is a back number. One of the chief speakers was Ludwig Büchner, now an old man, holding on to all the exploded theories to which in the days of his prime he was able to give a certain currency. He was not received even by his freethinking associates with much enthusiasm. Without his knowing it thought has left him behind. Aside from his blank materialism, which still holds to the original similarity of man to the beasts, what he had to say was chiefly an assault upon the Bible and Christianity. He declared that no confidence whatever can be placed in the records of the New Testament, and that the freethinker regards the Bible, not as of divine origin, but the purely human product of an ignorant, half barbaric age, permeated with superstition, rudeness, and shamelessness of every sort. According to the freethinker Christianity is not an original religion, but is a mixture of Indian, Egyptian, and Persian elements; its moral principles are neither new nor especially valuable, but existed long before Christianity in far better form. The man who can make such assertions and the hearers who can accept them are so far behind the age that it is doubtful whether they can ever catch up.

Another speaker, Bruno Wille, is a young man belonging to the present generation; yet he has been steeped in atheistic antiquities until he too appears as an anachronism. Much of what he had to say about freedom of thought and the final triumph of the truth all Protestants accept without question. But it would seem that a man who poses as an apostle of new light ought to have omitted such stale observations. The only excuse is that he may have known his audience was so ignorant as to take what he said on these subjects for hitherto unspoken wisdom. That free thought means to the German freethinkers the right to think inanities and the thoughts which were held by the ancients, rather than the duty of seeking the truth by modern investigation, was made plain by the utterances at this convention.

A German Estimate of the Fourteenth International Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association. A writer in the *Christliche Welt*, giving an account of this great gathering held in Basel from the 6th to the 10th of July, 1898, after speaking of the attendance from so many and such varied lands, and of Basel as a well-chosen spot for such an assemblage of Christian workers, says that the expectations of the Germans were not met. The attendance was indeed good, but the proceedings lacked earnestness. Instead of calm consideration of the problems before the Conference there was the reading of papers already printed, and without discussion. Most of the time was spent in devotional exercises, such as prayer and song. It is doubtful whether the manner of prayer really corresponded to the true idea of Christian sobriety. One was compelled to think of the simple words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, where at the first hour of morning devotions not less than twenty persons offered prayer. But especially the songs! True, such hymns as "A mighty fortress is our God" were sung; but in the main the songs were of the sweet, weak English type. Such a song as "Onward, Christian soldiers," was stirring and inspiring; but "Safe in the arms of Jesus" will never lead young men to Christ the Lord. It is trifling. The Conference performed no real work. It was a meeting for religious enjoyment, and followed the plan of the English-American services. They were a reproduction of the English May meetings, which are well enough if the English like them; but what right have the English to impose upon the Germans a style of worship which is strange to them and to set aside that which is just as good and which Germans by familiarity have come to enjoy? That the Germans endured the change without murmur is unaccountable. Doubtless the attendants returned to their homes encouraged and strengthened. Yet so much more might have been accomplished that it is to be hoped the Germans will succeed in completely reconstructing any further meetings that may be held. There would seem to be a good deal of justice in the criticisms which have been passed by the German critic.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

"IMPERIALISM" is a term in the national vocabulary whose meaning has received new emphasis by the force of recent events. As an interpreter of its sentiment Charles A. Conant, in the *North American* for September, writes that "the irresistible tendency to expansion which leads the growing tree to burst every barrier, which drove the Goths, the Vandals, and finally our Saxon ancestors in successive and irresistible waves over the decadent provinces of Rome, seems again in operation, demanding new outlets for American capital and new opportunities for American enterprise." Mr. Conant's article is entitled "The Economic Basis of 'Imperialism,'" and aims to show that the new movement "is not a matter of sentiment," but is rather "the result of a natural law of economic and race development." Among the great civilized peoples of the day there has accumulated the large "excess of saved capital which is the result of machine production," and whose existence "is one of the world maladies of the economic situation of to-day." Three solutions of "this enormous congestion of capital in excess of legitimate demand" are suggested. One is the socialistic proposal for "the abandonment of saving, the application of the whole earnings of the laborer to current consumption, and the support of old age out of taxes levied upon the production of the community;" the second solution is "the creation of new demands at home for the absorption of capital;" and the final resource is "the equipment of new countries with the means of production and exchange." The last proposition is that which the great industrial nations are now adopting. Nor can the United States "afford to adhere to a policy of isolation" while other countries are reaching out for the new markets of the world. Necessity compels us to enter upon "a broad national policy," while the details of that policy need not at once be decided. "The writer is not an advocate of 'imperialism' from sentiment, but does not fear the name if it means only that the United States shall assert their right to free markets in all the old countries which are being opened to the superior resources of the capitalistic countries and thereby given the benefits of modern civilization." The question has an economic side. America must find employment for its capital in the countries now opening for investment or suffer the alternative of "the needless duplication of existing means of production and communication, with the glut of unconsumed products, the convulsions followed by trade stagnation, and the steadily declining return upon investments which this policy will invoke."

THE minority of men in the usual Sabbath congregation is a feature of worship which every student of current religious movements must view with concern. To explain this absence of men from the Church is the

purpose of the late Cephas Brainerd, Jr., in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Writing under the title of "A Misplaced Halo," he discovers a lack of "hearty sympathy between religious and business circles," and points out certain reasons why business men resent the claim of Church and clergy to preeminent and solitary sanctity. The first of these considerations is that "the supreme necessity is food, clothing, and shelter," and that so far as Church and ministry fail to recognize the severity and right of this demand "they are out of sympathy with men at their most sensitive point." In the second place, "business stands beside the family, supreme in sacredness." God's command to men was that they should "subdue" the earth. This conquest "involves labor, invention, planning, organization, the preservation of results; it calls for laws, constitutions, established government." In the process of conquest "the production of the necessaries of life is the first step;" and, consequently, "the halo of obedience to God belongs primarily to the farmer, the manufacturer, and the miner, and those who are nearest to them share most in its radiance." By a right interpretation of Scripture "so-called secular business, advancing human civilization, and the institution of the family, taken together, form all that is primarily holy." This brings the author to the last consideration, that "the manifestation of God which appeals to business men is seldom emphasized in sermons or prayer meeting talks." While the implied reflection upon Church and ministry is perhaps too general, yet there is too evidently a "deplorable lack of sympathy between business and religious circles." The exhortation to the minister to lay aside his "misplaced halo" and mingle with business men "in all their moods at work and at play"—though not at the club, as the author suggests—is a wholesome advice. Yet with it may we not look for a new realization by business men that not only in commercial affairs are they "coworkers" with God, but also—as Mr. Brainerd fails to suggest—in matters which directly pertain to the altar and the Sabbath?

American pride will be reasonably gratified in the assertion of William Sharp, made in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, that the United States "is on the way to become the Louvre of the nations." From "year to year," he writes, "its public galleries have been enriched with masterpieces of all the modern schools; and by purchase, bequest, or gift many valuable and some great pictures by the older Italian, Flemish, and Spanish masters have been added to the already imposing store of national art wealth." New York in particular, and also Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, and other large cities from New Orleans to Chicago, and from Baltimore to San Francisco, are enumerated as art centers. "There are now in America," Mr. Sharp continues, "more training schools, more opportunities for instruction, more chances for the individual young painter to arrive at self-knowledge than were enjoyed of old by the eager youth of Flanders, of France, of Spain, even of Italy." The

"continual immigration" into the United States of art works "of exceptional interest and value" the writer attributes to "the obvious reasons of widely dispersed wealth, of enterprise, of individual, local, and national pride, and, of course, of mere speculation." The man of wealth, for instance, must be a connoisseur in pictures. "It is for one thing recognized that Mr. Jonathan Dives need not keep race horses, if he does not care for racing, nor a yacht, if he does not care for yachting, nor even a 'place in the country,' if he prefers urban life; but he must own pictures. It is almost the paramount sign of culture, and culture in America is largely identified with ample means. Mr. Dives readily enough falls in with this general persuasion, for he knows that if he delivers himself over to wise guidance, and buys with discretion, he makes a good investment against the hazards of fortune, and in any case does not stand to lose. In Europe pictures purchased by private individuals are generally lost to the public; in America they commonly change ownership with periodic frequency, and soon or late are loaned or bequeathed to civic or national collections." Indulging in this pleasantry as to the pursuits of American millionaires, and having also declared that "there is no atmosphere of art in America at large," Mr. Sharp devotes the most of his article to an enumeration of the pictures in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, and a pointing out of their individual merits. The article, which is to be continued, is entitled "The Art Treasures of America."

The *New World* for September has as its table of contents: 1. "William Ewart Gladstone," by R. A. Armstrong; 2. "Evolution and Theology," by Otto Pfleiderer; 3. "Oliver Cromwell," by W. Kirkus; 4. "Social and Individual Evolution," by Henry Jones; 5. "The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch," by A. C. McGiffert; 6. "The Pauline Supernaturalism," by Orello Cone; 7. "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development," by John Dewey; 8. "Witchcraft in Ancient India," by M. Winternitz; 9. "Current Delusions Concerning Miracles," by J. H. Denison. The first of these articles, written in Liverpool, reflects the English thought upon the work and the greatness of Mr. Gladstone. In his intellectual gifts, his character, and the influence of religion upon his ethical being the author finds those elements which gave Gladstone "in his death a command so transcendent over the reverence and the affection of the English race." The task of our time, says Pfleiderer, of Berlin, in the second article, is "to clothe the spirit of Christianity, its religious-ethical principle, which lay as a compelling force at the basis of all preceding developments, in the fitting and intelligible form for our age, regardless as to how far this new form may be separated from those old ones." The time has now come, if ever, in the estimate of the writer of the third article, for an estimate of Cromwell's work and character. Basing his present review upon certain historical works which have been recently issued, he traces the life of the great leader in able outline. As

to the verdict, however, upon Cromwell's character, he feels that it will never be rendered. "The jury will certainly disagree." The "next great enterprise of man," Henry Jones, of Glasgow, gives as his opinion, in the following article, "is to attempt to comprehend himself." And, moreover, "social evolution and the evolution of individual character are but two aspects of the same fact." As for Ignatius of Antioch, "the type of thinking of which he is the earliest known representative within the Christian Church," writes Professor McGiffert, "has profoundly influenced the entire development of Christianity." It was for Paul, says the author of the sixth article, to transform "the crude, popular, primitive-Christian supernaturalism in its relation to the Spirit into a profound spiritual supernaturalism whereby the entire religious and ethical life of the believer was brought into living relation to God and mystic fellowship with Christ." The next article reviews a recent book by Professor J. M. Baldwin, and expresses the belief that he has therein "opened a new and important field to psychologist and sociologist." The eighth article is an entertaining historical *rséumé* of customs in ancient India. It closes with the assertion that "the religious beliefs and superstitious customs of primitive people are, after all, the foundation on which our own morality, our laws and social institutions are based." The final article affirms that "we have been investigating the Bible by the defensive method of Hume, and the shadow of that method has fallen upon the entire religious world."

The *Lutheran Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Infant-Faith," by M. Valentine, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "The Duty of Christian Scholars to the Cause of Religious Education," by Honorable J. M. Gregory, LL.D.; 3. "Man and Property," by Professor J. A. Himes; 4. "The Sanctification of the Animal Soul," by Rev. John Tomlinson, A.M.; 5. "The Philosophy of Miracles," by Rev. A. B. Taylor, A.M.; 6. "The Christian Year: A Plea for its Wider Observance," by Rev. F. G. Gotwald, A.M.; 7. "The Press in the Lutheran Church," by Professor V. L. Conrad, D.D.; 8. "Melanchthon and the Augsburg Confession," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 9. "Martin Luther as a Preacher," by Professor J. Yutzy, D.D. These articles merit a fuller notice than is here possible.

Prominent among the articles of the *Christian Quarterly* for October is one entitled "The Supply of Preachers." Its author, President J. W. McGarvey, of Lexington, Ky., requested from one hundred and twenty-five ministerial students a statement as to the motives leading them to choose the ministerial profession. Of the fifty who responded thirty-seven acknowledged as the controlling cause "an oppressive sense of duty to God and man."——The leading article in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October is entitled "Dr. Abraham Kuyper," and is an ample biographical notice of the great Dutch theologian who now comes to Princeton to deliver a course of lectures on Calvinism.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Sermons Preached on Special Occasions. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 359. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

It is doubtful if the Anglican Church has had in our day any stronger preacher than Canon Liddon. To have heard him once in St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the cherished memories of London Sabbaths; a man of sound doctrine and deep conviction, of force and fire, of mental sinew and muscle, of intense spiritual earnestness. These sixteen sermons date from 1860 to 1889. Some have appeared in previous volumes, most were issued separately. The subjects are: "Christ's Welcome to the Penitent," "The Aim and Principles of Church Missions," "Active Love a Criterion of Spiritual Life," "Profit and Loss," "The Conflict with Undue Exaltation of Intellect," "The Victor in the Times of Preparation," "Personal Responsibility for the Gift of Revelation," "Jonah," "A Sister's Work," "Christ and Education," "Noah," "The One Salvation," "Love and Knowledge," "Teaching and Healing," "Devotion to the Church of Christ," "Religion and Arms." An especially characteristic discourse and a model sermon is the one on "Responsibility for the Gift of Revelation," which says in part: We notice among men around us three attitudes of feeling toward Revelation—indifference, hostility, and acceptance. *Indifference* is sometimes deliberate, sometimes not. One form is the indifference of some who consider religion an admirable supplement to the police, well calculated to reconcile the poor to their lot and furnish them with motives for sober living, but who would not think of wasting time on the inquiry whether religion affects themselves. Another form of indifference assumes that no one of the positive religions of the world is likely to be true; and, therefore, advises all men, Moslems, Pagans, or Christians, to follow the religions in which they have been born, as containing perhaps some relative, though no absolute, truth. Yet another form of indifference admits the Christian Revelation in general terms, but decides that while this and that doctrine may be essential and fundamental, a third and fourth, which rest on precisely the same authority, are of no consequence. A perpetual colloquy goes on between Revelation, urging its claims, and indifference weary of such importunities, and trying to silence them by apathetic arguments and objections, no way in earnest, but languidly fencing against an unwelcome subject. But indifference is a levity against which the soul of man and the solemnities of life and death utter their perpetual protest. Reason and prudence condemn it. A few men are hostile to Revelation. *Hostility* is better than indifference; has more moral nerve, is more earnest, and promises better for the future; it

implies at least interest and attention, and with all its bitterness may be near the kingdom of heaven. Saul of Tarsus, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, was on the eve of his conversion. In a Christian country hostility to Revelation is frequently of moral origin, albeit disguised in an intellectual dress; not that all who reject it have committed enormous crimes, but if a man is clinging to one known sin which Christianity condemns he has a powerful motive for wishing the Gospel to be untrue. Affluent circumstances, unimpaired health, and luxurious indulgence in material comforts make men resent being disturbed with reference to their responsibility for others or by unpleasant intimations about the hereafter. Personal vanity makes men hostile to Revelation; they turn Revelation into conversational capital and try to gain a reputation as independent thinkers; they repeat smart sayings about the Pentateuch gathered from the last skeptical writer, a few witticisms at the expense of holy men whom the Bible holds up to our reverence, a few flimsy generalizations about the laws by which religions are said to grow into shape and attain authority. The moral causes of opposition to God's word are deep and general in the perverted nature of man. But if a man, by God's help, clears away his moral reluctances and oppositions he will find little trouble with intellectual difficulties. He will not assume that there must be no clouds and darkness round about the Almighty, no mystery in things divine, no difficulties in Revelation. He will not make his own thoughts the measure of truth; he will remember that Revelation rests on the authority of God, and that it is objectively true whether he realizes it subjectively or not. One cause of hostility to Revelation to-day is a mental temper too exclusively subjective. A man admits only such truth as harmonizes with his own idiosyncrasies. Truth is to be true only on condition that it is felt. "Christ may be present if he is felt to be present; not else. Scripture may be inspired if you can feel the glow of its inspiration; not else. The Holy Spirit may sanctify if you can map out the exact track of his influence; not else. Jesus Christ may be divine if as you survey his human character you can feel his divine majesty; not else. God may be what you desire him to be; he may be Benevolence without justice, Wisdom or Power without liberty of action, a Providence dealing with general laws but not taking account of each sparrow that falls to the ground. The subjective spirit, indeed, does not receive God as he has revealed himself. It remodels him and makes its own god. You only know what it means by God when you have examined the particular mind which names him. The subjective temper accepts this attribute and rejects that; admires this dispensation and is dissatisfied with that; approves of one doctrine but objects to another. It deals with its own impressions, not with divine realities; and talks, appropriately enough, not about religious *truth*, but about religious *views*. It offers its kaleidoscope of ever-changing views as a substitute for that glorious creed which was once delivered to the saints; and it ends in the deep pit of materialism, where the belief in

invisible truth is killed out altogether." Such intellectual difficulties as may not be explained by patient study can reasonably be set aside because of the immense presumptions in favor of a Revelation and the actual evidence in proof that one has been given. The proper attitude toward revealed Truth is *acceptance and submission.* But responsibility does not end with mere acceptance. Those who receive it are responsible for three forms of effort with regard to it. We are responsible for *thinking much about it!* not put it away on a high shelf of the mind and take it down once a week just to see that it is there ; not treat it as a precious curiosity, but study it earnestly with some such keen interest as prevailed in the ancient Church when its several books could only be procured in manuscript and with difficulty. Our hold on Truth is superficial because we do not meditate intensely. "Meditation is not Tityrus lying at ease under the shade of a widespreading beech tree ; it is David, hunted for his life, yet deliberately pausing to contemplate the Divine justice and mercy ; it is St. Paul, spending three years as a solitary recluse in the Arabian desert that he may be nerved with Divine strength for the conversion of the world and for his martyrdom ; it is St. John, an exile and a prisoner for the name and patience of Jesus, reading in the opened heavens the coming history of the Church. Meditation is the whole soul moving forth to welcome the Truth ; it is intelligence measuring the range of truth ; it is affection embracing truth for the sake of its matchless beauty and infinite worth ; it is will firmly resolving to embody the Truth in act and life." We are responsible, too, for *propagating Revelation.* Absence of interest in the spiritual state of those around us, or of the heathen, is proof that we have no vital hold on the great truths of Redemption. "We believe the faith," said one, "when we are ready to die for it." Surely, if we are not called to give our blood, at least God has a right to our interest, our prayers, our efforts, our time, our money, for propagating his revealed truth through all the world. Above all, we are responsible for *living the truth of Revelation.* The enemies of Christ charge, and often too truly, that, while Christians profess a lofty faith, they live much like everybody else—aimless or self-indulgent lives with no mark of the cross or print of the nails visible upon them. We are to walk worthy of our vocation and be doers of the word, not hearers only. If it is worth while to be Christians at all it is worth while to be Christians in downright earnest. Dr. Liddon's sermon on "Teaching and Healing" was delivered before an international medical congress in St. Paul's Cathedral, and deals with the responsibilities and opportunities of the medical profession in teaching truth and inculcating virtue, in pointing out the operative force and inevitableness of some of God's laws, in tracing the limitation of human knowledge, in teaching reverence for the body and for the spirit of man, and in cultivating compassion and benevolence. In his sermon on "Devotion to the Church of Christ" he portrays the glorious and self-obliterating devotion of multitudes in past ages, the

imperative need of similar enthusiasm now, and, in one paragraph, says: "It may be thought that such enthusiasm belongs to a day when the Old Testament had not been largely resolved by destructive criticism into late forgeries or doubtful legends, and when the heroes of popular novels had not yet cast off the dust of their feet against the creed of Christendom. No, my brethren, these features of our time do not really affect the religious situation. Wait a little, and you will see that as after inquiry the New Testament has survived Strauss, and Baur, and Schwegler, so the Old Testament will not go to pieces at the bidding of Kuenen and Wellhausen. All that negative criticism can do is to modify some incidental features of our traditional way of looking at Scripture; the main fabric remains intact. And as to the Christian Deism that aims to supplant Christianity, if it will only think long and steadily enough, it will surely discover that no difficulties in the creed which it rejects are so great as those of faith in a Being who is still held to be All-good as well as All-knowing and Almighty, but who yet, surveying this scene of moral misery and pain, has, on the hypothesis, left it to itself."

The Christian Revelation. By BORDEN P. BOWNE. 16mo, pp. 107. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The Preface tells us that this booklet was written to relieve some of the difficulties under which popular religious thought labors. The essential thought is that the current difficulties concerning revelation are needless, if not gratuitous, and arise mainly from the abstract discussion of a problem which can be successfully dealt with only in the concrete. The author is sure that the practical value of the Scriptures must be determined in the way here suggested, and that the effective defense and recommendation of revelation must follow the lines which he lays down. "What is the Christian Revelation?" is the first question asked and answered. The headings of the other divisions are these: "Value of the Christian Revelation," "Inspiration or Dictation," "Inerrancy of the Bible," "The Bible and Revelation," "Natural and Supernatural," "Literature or Dogma," "Revelation as Progressive." Commending Professor Bowne's treatise to the attention of our readers, we have room for only one or two quotations: "I do not think that Christianity removes many, if any, of the intellectual difficulties we feel in contemplating life and the world; it rather outflanks them by a revelation which makes it possible to love and trust Him, notwithstanding the mystery of his ways, and which assures us that all good things are safe, and are moving on and up,

> 'Through graves and ruins and the wrecks of things,
> Borne ever Godward with increasing might.'"

The Christian revelation is "a revelation of God, of his gracious purpose and his gracious work. As such it is,

> 'The fountain light of all our day,
> A master light of all our seeing.'

It is a great spiritual force at the head of all the beneficent and inspiring forces which make for the upbuilding of men and the bringing in of the kingdom of God. If we would know some things we must turn to nature, or to history, or to psychology; but if we would know what God is and what he means for men we must come to the Christian revelation, especially as completed in Jesus Christ. Here only do we find the Father adequately revealed. But we often fail duly to appreciate this revelation, or we make ourselves needless difficulties in understanding it, because of sundry misconceptions, which we now proceed to consider." The author thinks that "there has been a very great and wholesome growth in Christian thought in recent years. Under the guidance of the promised Spirit we are coming nearer to the truth of God. The elaborate constructions and interpretations of earlier creeds are falling away; but in their place we have something infinitely better, a clearer apprehension of that Fatherhood of which every fatherhood in heaven and earth is named; of God's moral purpose in the world; of his upbuilding kingdom, and his nearness to every faithful soul. The mechanical and artificial conception of salvation also is falling away, and we are coming to see that the end of the law is love, that is, the purpose of the law is to beget love in the heart and life. Or again, more concretely and comprehensively, Christ is the end of the law; that is, the fundamental aim is to reproduce Christ in the disciple. And this insight is gradually transforming Christian thought from an incredible mechanism of words and rites to a living and life-giving conception of what God is and what he means." "Experience shows that life can abide across many changes of conception, and even that the new conception may be more favorable to life than the old. And this is true of the newer views of the Bible and revelation. We have no longer a dictated and infallible book, but we have the record of the self-revelation of God in history and in the thought and feeling of holy men. With this change the intellectual scandals and incredibilities which infest the former view have vanished, and in its place has come a blessed and growing insight into what God is and what he means, which is our great and chief source of hope and inspiration."

Praxis in Manuscripts of the Greek Testament. By Rev. CHARLES F. SITTERLY, B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and the Exegesis of the English Bible in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 8vo, pp. 63. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1; postage 7 cents additional.

Professor Sitterly's Preface begins by saying: "The latest text of the Greek New Testament is, beyond doubt, the best. It is the result of the painstaking researches of many generations, and no single manuscript extant, however ancient or accurate, can compare with it as an *apparatus criticus* for the thorough student. An elementary knowledge of the sources from which this text has been derived and of the processes by which it has been evolved is essential to the training of one who would

rightly divide the word of truth." The book is intended to furnish assistance to the acquirement of such knowledge. The chapters in order are upon the materials on which the manuscripts were written, whether papyrus, parchment, or paper; the instruments with which they were written—pens, inks, and other instruments; the forms in which the manuscripts are preserved, such as the roll, the codex, and the palimpsest; and the methods of marking and measuring the manuscripts, including punctuation, accents, and breathings, abbreviations and contractions, and stichometry. These chapters are introductory to the study of thirteen facsimile plates of sheets from as many different manuscripts. These plates are accompanied by notes descriptive and explanatory, and are followed by a complete table, naming the chief codices in which witness is borne to the New Testament writings, and showing the condition and value of all the manuscripts named. A note says: "The rare collection of New Testament minuscules in the possession of Drew Theological Seminary, being near at hand, has largely afforded the illustrative material for this work." It was provided by the great generosity of Mr. William White, late of Summit, N. J., for many years a trustee of the school and a man of exceptionally high tastes and literary sympathies. To Dr. Albert L. Long, Professor in Robert College, Constantinople, in cooperation with President Buttz, of the seminary, is due the selection and purchase of the manuscripts in Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the islands of the Ægean Sea." A working Bibliography of the subjects discussed is prefixed.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Evolution of the College Student. By WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE, President of Bowdoin College. 12mo, pp. 39. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

This is one of that excellent series of fifty choice booklets of large variety and value which Crowell & Company have issued in uniform style and price. It may be well worth anybody's while to send to these publishers for a catalogue of the series. They make a fine and inexpensive little library for the home table. Their subjects and the names of the authors, if we had room to print them, would attract many purchasers. They are called the "What is Worth While Series." President Hyde was requested by the University Club of Buffalo to furnish a paper which would show the inner life of the college of to-day; and he makes a typical student give us an inside view of his own experiences and progress during the four momentous years of his course. The student himself is made to narrate, in letters to family and friends, his Freshman sorrows, Sophomore conceits, Junior misgivings, and Senior prospects and purposes. So we have here a picture of the average undergraduate as known by a college president. Its design is stated by its author thus: "This kinetoscopic picture is presented in the hope that

it may assure overanxious parents that not every aberration of their sons is either final or fatal, persuade critics of college administration that our problem is not so simple as they seem to think, and inspire the public with the conviction cherished by every college officer, that college students, with all their faults and follies, are the best fellows in the world, and that, notwithstanding much crude speculation about things human, and some honest skepticism concerning things divine, the great social institutions of family, and industry, and Church, and State may be safely intrusted to their true hearts and generous hands." In these letters the young fellow writes of religious life at college, literary studies, thoughtless pranks, athletics, philosophy, college settlements, choice of a profession, relations of labor and capital, discussing these and other topics from the changing standpoints of his onward growth. The Freshman has this to say of the impressions made on him by the religious services in the college and at the church: "As for the meetings—well, I go to them regularly, but cannot say I particularly enjoy them. Some of the fellows have such wonderful experiences of grace that I don't know what to make of it. I never had anything of the kind. If that is essential to a man's being a Christian—why, I simply am not in it. I can't conceive of myself as feeling like that. It does not seem natural. I want to do right; I know I do wrong. I know I need to be turned right about face once in so often, or else I should go straight down hill. And I am glad to spend an hour each week with fellows who are trying to get a brace in the same direction. To tell the truth, I don't get much out of church here. The ministers are smart enough, and they roll out great glowing periods. But when they are through I cannot tell for the life of me what they have been driving at. You hear a lot about justification, sanctification, and atonement; and then you hear a lot about Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Mesopotamia. Once in a while there comes along a man who seems to understand us. He will throw out some practical and moral problem that we are grappling with; pile up the arguments in favor of the indulgence just as they pile up in our own minds; and then turn around, knock them all to splinters, and show how much more noble and manly it is to overcome temptation, and show us Christ as the great champion in the moral and spiritual welfare of the world." Of authors the Freshman writes: "The two writers I love best are Carlyle and Emerson, although I don't profess to understand much of either of them. Carlyle braces me up when I am tempted to loaf and shirk; Emerson tones me down when I am tempted to pretense and insincerity. Both tend to make me more simple and true and real." When the boy is a Sophomore, bumptious, audacious, insubordinate, and iconoclastic, he writes to his mother: "As for the Young Men's Christian Association and that sort of thing which you inquire about, to tell the truth, I haven't been much lately. Between football and society my time has been pretty well taken up. I believe in having a good time and letting everybody else have the same; I believe in father's version of the

golden rule, which is, you know, 'Do to others as you think they would do to you if they had a chance.' I don't see why we should try to cast our lives in the narrow and contracted grooves marked out for us in primitive times, when the world was just emerging from barbarism. I recognize, of course, that life, like every game, has its rules, which you must obey if you want to get any fun out of it. But it strikes me that for the rules of life you must go to the men who have studied life from its first beginnings in plant and animal up to its latest development in the modern man. Mill and Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall ought to be better authorities on the rules of this game than the ingenious priests who relieved the monotony of exile by drawing up an ideal code and attributing it to Moses; men on whose minds the first principles of the synthetic philosophy had never dawned, and who had no more conception of the conditions which evolution has brought about in our day than the man in the moon. Now, I mean to do my best, as soon as I get time, to find out what the rules of life are according to the most approved modern authorities, and then play the game of life as I do the game of football—fair and hard. I shall never cheat, never shirk, never be afraid. There's my creed up to date. If there are any other rules delivered by competent authority, and accepted by all players of good standing, I shall obey them too. So don't be anxious about my religious condition. If you don't like my creed, my practice is all right. I haven't done anything I would be ashamed to have you know, except a little foolishness that doesn't amount to anything and isn't worth mentioning. And as long as I honestly try to do as you would have me I can't go far astray." When he is a Junior his letters show more seriousness, more reverence, more wisdom, as in this to his mother: "Now, I gladly admit that Jesus taught the world once for all the great lesson of this self-devotion of the individual to the service of society. While others had anticipated special aspects and applications of this principle, he made it central and supreme. In doing so he became the Lord and Master of all who are willing to become humble servants of their fellow-men. I acknowledge him as my Lord and Master; and that, too, in a much profounder sense than I ever supposed the word could mean. I do not, however, find much of this, which I regard as the essence of Christ's teaching and spirit, either in traditional theology or conventional Christianity. Orthodox theology seems to have been built up around the idea of saving the merely individual soul, while Christ's prime concern was to show men how to lose that selfish sort of soul. In short, I propose to tackle the most pressing problem of the present day—that of the just distribution of the products of human toil; and I propose to give my time and talents, and to throw away my wealth and position, for the sake of contributing what I can to its solution. That is what, as I conceive it, Jesus would do were he in my place to-day. Now, if leaving all and following Jesus is Christianity, I am and mean to be a Christian; but if you insist on the ecclesiastical definition of the term, then I am

not a Christian, and probably never shall be." A year and a half of study in political economy makes the young man, who has decided to go into manufacturing business, write his father thus: "I have had entirely knocked out of me those crude notions about the inherent wickedness of capital, the tyranny of ability, and the sole and exclusive claim of labor to divide among its own hands the entire joint product of the three great agencies. What you told me, too, about your running at a loss during these hard times has thrown a new light on the matter. I fully appreciate the force of your remark that the problem of industry is not how to divide the spoils, but how to distribute responsibility. I have also gotten over my horror of the trust. I recognize that the increased efficiency of machinery, the cheapening of transportation, the swift transmission of intelligence, the factory system, the massing of population in cities, the concentration of capital in large corporations with extensive plants and enormous fixed charges, the competition of all relatively imperishable and transportable products in one vast world-market, have radically changed the conditions of production, and made old-fashioned small-scale production and free competition between petty competitors impossible. No, father; I don't think you are a robber baron because you have joined the trust. I begin to realize the tremendous pressure a corporation is under when it must pay interest, keep up repairs, and meet fixed charges, and can come much nearer meeting these obligations by producing at a loss than by not producing at all. I see that the cutting of prices below cost by old concerns trying to get out of speculative complications, and by new concerns eager to get a footing in the market, makes effective combination an absolute necessity. I see that the trust is simply an effective way of doing what was ineffectively attempted by informal agreements as to trade customs, listings, quotations, and schedules of prices, written agreements limiting output and fixing prices, the appointment of common agents to market the product, and the like. I accept the trust as the stage of economic evolution which the world is now compelled to enter." When he has become a Senior, and the discipline of a college course has taken effect on him, and the better wisdom of maturing years has balanced him, he writes to his mother: "You complain that I do not say much about religion nowadays. As I have told you often, religion is not to my mind an external form superimposed upon life from without, but is the informing spirit of life itself. In striving to do with my might the thing my fellow-men need most to have done for them I feel that I am at the same time doing what is most acceptable to God and most conformable to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ. At the same time I have gotten over that antipathy to religious institutions which I have had for a year or two. I have gone back to the Christian Association here in college; and whether the change is in them or in me I don't know; but I find myself able both to do good and to get good in their meetings. In fact, unless there were some such meeting

ground for the expression and cultivation of our ideals, I don't see how they could be kept from fading out. It is a great help to feel that in spite of the diversity of taste, talent, and vocation so many earnest fellows are going out into the world as sincere servants of the one God, followers of the one Lord, and workers in the one Spirit. I shall also connect myself actively with the Church. I do not profess to have solved all the problems of theology; and fortunately our Church does not require of laymen like me subscription to an elaborate creed. I see that the cry, 'Back to Jesus,' in religion, is as foolish as the cry, 'Back to Phidias,' in art, or 'Back to Homer,' in poetry. We cannot go back to primitive simplicity and *naïveté* in any department of life. The subsequent development is part and parcel of our spiritual inheritance, of which it is impossible to divest ourselves. The Church, as the organized institutional expression of the life of the Spirit of God in the heart of humanity, I accept as a spiritual necessity. And I should no more think of trying to serve God and my fellow-men apart from it than I should think of shouldering my individual musket and marching across the fields on my own private account to defend my country against an invading army. Christian kindness, Christian justice, Christian civilization, Christian culture, the Christian family, and above all a Christian mother like you, I believe in and love with all my heart. And now that the Church has come to represent to my mind, symbolically at least, all these most precious and beneficent influences that have entered into the structure of my character and life, I cannot do less than freely give my influence and support to the institution from which, indirectly if not directly, I have freely received so much. So, my dear mother, if you will look beneath the outward form to the underlying spirit, I hope you will see that after all I am a good deal of a Christian, and mean to be in my own way something of a minister too." The title he gives his graduating thesis is, "Naturalness, Selfishness, Self-sacrifice, Self-realization," and intimates the stages and the course of inner development during his four years' course. As a sort of syllabus of his commencement address he gives us this outline of a student's progress: "First: We set out as nature has formed and tradition has fashioned us, innocent, susceptible, frail. The hard, cruel world comes down upon us, and would crush us under its heavy, unintelligible weight. Second: We rise up against it, defy tradition, and throw convention to the winds. We in turn strive to trample others under foot. But though we wear spiked shoes, we find the pricks we kick against harder and sharper than our spikes. Third: We surrender, abjectly and unconditionally; cast spear and shield away in the extreme of formal, abstract self-denial, and ascetic, egotistical self-sacrifice. This in turn betrays its hollowness and emptiness and uselessness and unreality. Fourth: The Lord of life, against whom we've been blindly fighting all the while, lifts us up in his strong arms; sets us about the concrete duties of our station; arms us with the strength of definite human duties, and cheers

us with the warmth of individual human love; and sends us forth to the social service which to hearts thus fortified is perfect freedom and perennial delight. Such a process of spiritual transformation I take to be the true significance of a college course. To be sure, in college, as in the great world of which it is a part, none see the meaning of the earlier phases until they reach the later; and consequently many never see any sense in it at all. For the great majority of men go through college, as the great majority of them go through life, without getting beyond the first or second stage, and graduate, as Matthew Arnold says most men die, 'Unfreed, having seen nothing, still unblest.'"

Early Letters of George William Curtis. Edited by GEORGE WILLIS COOKE. 12mo, pp. 294. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.50.

The rare grace and unsurpassed charm of Curtis can never be forgotten by those who knew him, and these letters, along with his other writings, will float his influence like a fragrance far on into the years that are to be. This volume of letters shows his independence, his love of humanity, his courage in maintaining his own convictions, his chivalrous and romantic spirit, his literary skill and charm, his profound spiritual convictions, that would not be limited by any sectarian bounds, and in addition they constitute the record of one of the most interesting periods of an unusually interesting life. Mr. Curtis was forming friendships with Ralph Waldo Emerson, George P. Bradford, John S. Dwight, Charles A. Dana, C. P. Cranch, Margaret Fuller, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, George Ripley, Henry Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and many others—friendships which were destined to ripen and develop later on; and his impressions and experiences are duly recorded in this series of letters. Mr. Cooke, who edits the letters, gives in the first third of the book an interesting account of the early life at Brook Farm and Concord, with reminiscences of the men Curtis met. George William Curtis went to Brook Farm in 1842, when he was eighteen years old, and the two years he spent there formed an important episode in his life, for although he did not surrender himself to the associationist idea, but remains rather an individualist, yet he loved the men and women who were at the head of the community, and it is safe to say that without Brook Farm and transcendentalism his life would have been less worthy of our admiration. The winter of 1843–44 he spent at his father's house in New York, and in the spring of 1844 went to live in Concord for purposes of study and recreation. Then come the early letters to John S. Dwight, forty-one in all, dated 1843 to 1847 inclusive, and in conclusion twenty-one letters of later date written at various times from 1850 to 1886. The Brook Farm community was an attempt at practical Christianity. It did not interpret the words "The poor ye have always with you" to mean "ye must always keep some of you poor." The practical Christian was one who said to his neighbor, "Friend, come up higher." The way to the golden age was held to lie through justice, substituting cooperation for competition, leading men from "the Gehenna of compe-

tition" to "the Arcadia of cooperation." The Brook Farmers were a company of educated and refined persons, "who felt that the immense disparity of condition and opportunity in the world was a practical injustice, full of peril for society, and that the vital and fundamental principle of Christianity was universally rejected by Christendom as impracticable." Brook Farm failed, but its ideals were pure and noble. The dignity of all useful labor was one of its central convictions. The strength of character developed by honest toil is shown in Emerson's description of his neighbor, Edmund Hosmer, an intelligent farmer and upright man: "In an afternoon of April I found the farmer in his cornfield. He was holding the plow and his son driving the oxen. This man always impresses me, he is so manly, so sweet-tempered, so faithful, so disdainful of appearances—excellent and reverable in his old weather-worn cap and blue frock bedaubed with the soil of the field; so honest, withal, that he always needs to be watched lest he should cheat himself. I remember with some shame that in some dealing we had together a long time ago I found that he had been looking to my interest and nobody had looked to his part. As I drew near this brave laborer in the midst of his own acres I could not help feeling for him the highest respect. Here is the Cæsar, the Alexander of the soil, conquering and to conquer, after how many and many a hard-fought summer's day and winter's day; not like Napoleon, hero of sixty battles only, but of six thousand, and out of every one he has come victor; and here he stands with Atlantic strength and cheer, invincible still. These slight and useless city limbs of ours will come to shame before this strong soldier, for his having done his own work and ours too. What good this man has he has earned. No rich father or father-in-law left him any inheritance of land or money. He borrowed the money with which he bought his farm, and has bred up a large family, given them a good education, and improved his land year by year, and this without prejudice to himself the landlord, for here he is a man every inch of him. Innocence and justice have written their names on his brow. Toil has not broken his spirit. His laugh rings with the sweetness and hilarity of a child; yet he is a man of strongly intellectual taste, of much good reading, and of an erect good sense and independent spirit which can brook neither usurpation nor falsehood in any shape." Curtis, a city boy, toughened his delicate manhood, and bred brawn and sinew for himself by working on a farm, where he and his brother shoveled manure, plowed, mowed, and planted, living together in a single room, where they did their own cooking and housekeeping, living chiefly on milk, crackers, cheese, and fruit, eating no meat, as they were Grahamites. Here is what he says about his labor: "I mow and sweat and get tired very heartily, for I want to drink this cup of farming to the bottom, and taste not only the morning froth, but the afternoon and evening strength of dregs and bitterness, if there be any." They helped Thoreau build his hut at Walden Pond. They botanized. They read many books. A glimpse

of later reading and study is given: "My German progresses finely. I have read Novalis's poetry, and am just now finishing the *Lehrjahre.* Burrill and I have finished Johnson's *Elements of Agriculture.* I read to him daily from Bunyan. I am also busy with Beaumont and Fletcher, Paul's epistles, and St. Augustine." The value of this engaging book is chiefly in what it gives us of the lofty and tender soul of Curtis, of which we transcribe a few expressions: "The severity of Nature is a stern and lofty cordial to me. I must obey or die. She sits brooding over the world, announcing her laws by blows and knocks, by agonies and convulsions, by the mouths of wise men who affirm that as the sowing so also is the harvest. And there is no alleviation, no palliation. She heeds no prayers, no sighs; those who fail must raise themselves. When she has thus trained us to stand on our feet everything works for us, the sun and moon are lamps for our enlightenment, and men and women leaves of a wondrous book. The honest man who knows nothing of Greece and Rome derives from the swelling trees and the bending sky the same subtle infusion of heroism and nobility that is the vitality of history. . . . Could we appreciate the worth of every art and every landscape and man they would be identical. As I am a better man, the more soluble is the great outspreading riddle of Nature, and the more distinct and full the delicate grace of art. The best critic of art is the man whose life has been hid with God in nature." "Most men live to acknowledge in heart the superiority of young dreams over old possessions; and the world feels that in the unshrinking aspirations of the youth lies the hope of the world. That is the lightning that purifies the dense atmosphere." "Fourier seems to me to have postponed his life in finding out how to live." "Our evils are entirely individual, not social. What is society but the shadow of the individuals behind it?" "Reform is purification, forming anew, not simply forming again." "God always weighs down the devil. Therefore the Church is not a collection of puzzling priests and deceived people, but the representative forever of the religious sentiment which is elemental and eternal." Of Elizabeth Barrett Browning he wrote: "She is a woman of vigorous thought, but not very poetical thought, and throwing herself into verse it involuntarily becomes honeyed so that it cloys. It is not quite natural. Her highly colored robe is not harmonious with her native style of thought. Tennyson's world is purple, and so are his thoughts. Therefore his poetry is natural. Wordsworth lives in a clear atmosphere of thought, and his poetry is simple and natural, but not more so than Tennyson." "Proverbs are the homely disguises in which wisdom roams the world." "Poetry is the loftiest expression of the intellectual sphere." Of Bettine and Goethe he writes: "A child singing wonderful songs in the starlight, serenading with tender passionate love songs the old man who waves his hands and breathes down a kiss which is chilled by the night air and falls like a snowflake into her bosom, not as a star upon her brow." From Concord he writes in 1845:

"Last Sunday Father Taylor preached here, and all the heretics went to church. In the afternoon he preached temperance. After the afternoon service we tea'd with him at Mr. Emerson's. He is a noble man, truly the Christian apostle of his time. It is impossible to pin him anywhere. He is like the horizon, wide around but impossible to seize. I know no man who thrills so with life to the very tips, nor is there anyone whose eloquence is so thrilling to me." Of the Unitarians Curtis wrote in 1845, "I do not feel impressed by them very much; they stand in such a negative position, 'one stocking off and the other stocking on.'" Referring to the Republican presidential convention of 1884 he writes: "I voted for Edmunds every time, and in the uproar of the vote that made Blaine's nomination I held my peace. But had I voted for Blaine, and had afterward found good reasons to change my mind, I should not have hesitated to take the course I have taken." To the surprise of his party, it will be remembered, he suddenly turned his support to Grover Cleveland.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Collections and Recollections. By ONE WHO HAS KEPT A DIARY. 8vo, pp. 375. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The author of this anonymous book is said to be Mr. G. W. E. Russell, whose *Life of Gladstone* is favorably known. It is a rich volume of reminiscences of society and public men in England during the last seventy-five years, a most interesting addition to the anecdotal literature of the Victorian era. It is not mere gossip. In the chapters on "Social Equalization," "Religion and Morality," "Politics," and "The Evangelical Influence," we find a study of the tendencies of English society at the beginning of this century, the social effects of the French Revolution, the democratization of the peerage, and the awakening of the British conscience and the reviving seriousness of the upper classes which followed the coronation of Queen Victoria. Under the headings, "Parliamentary Oratory," "Repartee," "Flatterers and Bores," "Conversation," "Parodies," "Letter-writing," "Verbal Infelicities," "Links with the Past," "Officialdom," the author recounts many events and sayings which have entertained English society in the present century. Then there are chapters on Lord Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, Cardinal Manning, Lord Houghton, and Lord Beaconsfield. It is the best book of its kind in these years. That truly illustrious and most noble nobleman, Anthony Ashley, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, is pictured with lifelikeness; tall and spare, powerfully framed, features handsome and strongly marked, complexion pale as marble, thick jet-black hair even in age; in appearance and bearing the very embodiment of aristocracy, his countenance expressive of precision and stern though melancholy resolve. For seventy years he held that aristocratic face pityingly and lovingly in contact with human suffering, and in its deepening lines men could read

his intense tenderness toward weakness and misery and his passionate indignation against cruelty and oppression. His early years were made miserable by the harsh severity of his parents. The father used to knock him down with his fist. The only element of joy for him in childhood was the devotion of an old maidservant who comforted his sorrows and taught him the rudiments of Christian faith. In manhood this saintly nobleman continued to use the very words of prayer which this good serving-woman taught him before he was seven years old, and to the last day of his life he wore the plain gold watch left him as a keepsake by that dear old servant whom he called "The best friend I ever had in the world." As the chosen occupation of his lifetime he immersed his extraordinary energies in philanthropic enterprises; reform of the Lunacy Law and humaner treatment of lunatics; abolition of slavery all over the world; sanitary reform and promotion of public health; crusade against vivisection; reform of Factory Laws and regulation of labor in the interest of operatives; arbitration between employers and employed; schools and orphanages for ragged children; relief of the chimney sweeps—these were some of the objects for which he battled, counting every man an enemy who opposed them. Three times he refused a seat in the cabinet, because it would take time from his benevolent and philanthropic labors. The "enthusiasm of humanity" was kindled in him by the love of Christ which constrained him and dominated every action of his magnificent life. He carried the Ten-Hours' Factory Bill against Gladstone and Bright and Cobden, and the spirit of the man throbs in his diary, June 1, 1847: "News that the Factory Bill has passed the third reading. I am humbled that my heart is not bursting with thankfulness to Almighty God—that I can find breath and sense to express my joy. What return shall we give unto the Lord for all the benefits he hath conferred on us? God in his mercy prosper the work, and grant that these operatives may receive the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord!" He was as profoundly religious as he was eagerly benevolent; he had a passionate love of principle, a proud hatred of shifts and compromises, a contempt for the whole race of mechanical politicians and their ignoble strife for place and power. He had the Latin poets at his fingers' ends, spoke French fluently, and knew Milton by heart. Ostentation was abhorrent to him, his personal appointments were simple, and his own expenditures were restricted within narrow limits; he lived abstemiously and denied himself that he might give to the needy. As a host receiving rich and poor in his hereditary home, St. Giles's House, near Cranborne, the mixture of stateliness and geniality in his bearing and address was an object lesson in high breeding. At the age of eighty-four, nearing life's end, he exclaimed with a yearning heart, like the heart of his Master, who wept over Jerusalem, "I cannot bear to leave the world with all the misery in it." How clear it is that none but Christ can make the greatest and the noblest men! And he can take the loftiest or the lowliest, from gutters or palaces, and make them shine resplend-

ently and tower sublimely; and the noblest use and action of palaces is when they make themselves the servants of the slums. The dozen pages of this chapter on Lord Shaftesbury leave us wondering where in the line of England's nobility one can look to find his superior. Certainly the aristocracy of this century cannot show his equal. We jar this notice with a shock of contrast by putting here some harsh words from Carlyle, who did not believe in coddling the weak and unfortunate or pitying slaves and prisoners. Of a dinner party in 1847 Bishop Wilberforce wrote: "Carlyle was in great force. Monckton Milnes drew him out by talking of the barbarity of capital punishment, that we could not be sure others were as wicked and blameworthy as they seemed, etc. Carlyle broke out on him with 'None of your heaven-and-hell Amalgamation Companies for me. We *do* know what is wickedness. I know wicked men, men whom I *would not live with;* men whom under some conceivable circumstances I would kill or they should kill me. No, Milnes, there is no truth or greatness in all that. It's just poor miserable littleness.'" Writing of "Parliamentary Oratory" the author says that Burke's style is, without any exception, the richest, the most picturesque, the most inspired and inspiring in our language: "In its glories and its terrors it resembles the Apocalypse." "In originality, erudition, and accomplishments he had no rival. His prose is the most musical and fascinating in the English tongue. It bears on every page the divine lineaments of genius." Yet he was called "The Dinner Bell of the House of Commons" because he emptied it. "In vain," says Moore, "did Burke's genius put forth its superb plumage, glittering all over with the hundred eyes of fancy. The gait of the bird was heavy and awkward, and its voice seemed rather to scare than attract." Here are some bits: "Pitt was, in spite of grave and undeniable faults, the greatest minister that ever governed England." Brougham's versatility and superficiality—"slovenly omniscience," some one called it—gave rise to the caustic saying that "if the Lord Chancellor only knew a little law he would know something about everything." "Mr. Gladstone's unapproached supremacy as an orator was not really seen until he touched *the moral elements* involved in some great political issue. Then indeed he spoke like a prophet and a man inspired. His whole physical formation seemed to become 'fusile' with the fire of his ethical passion, and his eloquence flowed like a stream of molten lava, carrying all before it in its irresistible rush, glorious as well as terrible. Gladstone's retirement from the House of Commons closed a splendid tradition, and Parliamentary Oratory as our fathers understood it may now be reckoned among the lost arts." "We have been told on high authority that the merriment of parsons is offensive; but the truth of this dictum depends entirely on the topic of the merriment. A clergyman who made light of the religion he professed to teach, or even joked about the incidents and accompaniments of his sacred calling, would by common consent be intolerable." Dean Stanley was the only clergyman

to whom the queen signed herself, "Ever yours affectionately." Canon Gore's "ascetic saintliness of life conceals from the general world, but not from the privileged circle of his intimate friends, the high breeding of a great Whig family and the philosophy of Balliol." The following is quoted from Sidney Smith's sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral the Sunday after the accession of the Princess Victoria to the throne at the age of eighteen: "This youthful monarch, profoundly but wisely religious, disdaining hypocrisy, casts herself upon God, and seeks from the Gospel of his blessed Son a path for her steps and a comfort for her soul." And our author, writing of Victoria when she has reigned sixty years, speaks of "the incomparable majesty of personal bearing which has taught many an onlooker that dignity has nothing to do with height, or beauty, or splendor of raiment; and, mingled with that majesty and unspeakably enhancing it, the human sympathy with suffering and sorrow, which has made Queen Victoria, as none of her predecessors ever was or could be, the Mother of her People." Mr. Russell calls the Crimean war "the most ruinous, most cruel, and least justifiable of all campaigns." "In the prayer books in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle all the pronouns which refer to the Holy Trinity are spelled with small letters, and those which refer to the queen with capitals." That extraordinary child of Israel, Disraeli, wilicst of premiers, said, in his old age to a Jewish boy, "You and I belong to a race which can do everything but fail." Of Disraeli Bismarck said: "I think nothing of their Lord Salisbury. He is only a lath painted to look like iron. But that old Jew means business." In 1867 Lord Houghton wrote: "I met Gladstone at breakfast. He seems quite awed with the diabolical cleverness of Dizzy, who, he says, is gradually driving all ideas of political honesty out of the House and accustoming it to the most revolting cynicism." But our author says, "I have a sneaking affection for the man (Disraeli) who wrote: 'We live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can no longer be synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the Future are represented by suffering millions, and the Youth of a nation are the Trustees of Posterity.'" An English clergyman at a temperance meeting said that he had come to favor total abstinence, because for thirty years he had been trying to cure drunkards by making them drink in moderation, but had never succeeded. The newspaper reported him thus: "The reverend gentleman stated that for thirty years he had been trying to drink in moderation, but had never succeeded." Mr. Russell says, "It is held on good authority that no human being ever experiences a rapture so intense as an American Episcopalian bishop when he first hears himself called 'My Lord' at a London dinner party."

Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher. Edited by T. J. Ellinwood. 16mo. pp. 187. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In his lecture room talks and sermons to his own people Mr. Beecher often spoke as freely as if in his home, and related many inci-

dents from his own life, using them in an illustrative way to illuminate or emphasize some religious point. This small volume is made up of selections from such narrated personal reminiscences. The frankness of an open and ingenuous nature speaks in them all. Not a few of them have suggestions for preachers. He says: "I owe more to the Book of Acts and the writings of the apostle Paul than to all other books put together. I was sent into the wilderness of Indiana to preach among the poor and ignorant, and I lived in my saddle. My library was in my saddle-bags. I went from camp meeting to camp meeting, and from log hut to log hut. I took my New Testament, and from it I got that which has been the very secret of any success that I have had in the Christian ministry." About training in elocution and vocal drill he says: "It was my good fortune in early academical life to fall into the hands of Professor Lovell, of New Haven, and for a period of three years I was drilled incessantly (you might not suspect it, but I was) in posturing, gesture, and voice culture. It was the skill of that gentleman that he never left a 'manner' with anybody. He simply gave his pupils the knowledge of what they had in themselves and helped them to bring it out." "There was a large grove lying between the seminary and my father's house, and it was the habit of my brother Charles and myself to make the night and even the day hideous with our voices as we passed backward and forward exploding all the vowels from the bottom to the very top of our voices. The drill that I underwent first and last produced, not an oratorical manner, but a physical instrument that accommodated itself readily to every kind of thought and every shape of feeling, and obeyed the inward will in the outward realization of the results of rules and regulations." This is on "Taking Aim in Preaching:" "When I had lived at Indianapolis the first year, I said, 'There was a reason why, when the apostles preached, they succeeded, and I will find it out if it is to be found out.' I took every instance in the record where I could find one of their sermons and analyzed it, and asked myself, 'What were the circumstances? Who were the people? What did he do?' And I studied the sermons till I got this idea: that the apostles were accustomed first to feel for a ground on which they and the people stood together, a common ground where they could meet. Then they stored up a large number of the particulars of knowledge that belonged to everybody; and when they had got that knowledge, which everybody would admit, placed in a proper form before the minds of the people, then they brought it to bear upon them with all their heart and feeling. That was the first definite idea of TAKING AIM that I had in my mind. 'Now,' I said, 'I will make a sermon so.' I remember it just as well as if it were yesterday. First, I sketched out the things we all know, and in that way I went on with my 'you all know' until I had about forty of them. When I had got through that I turned round and brought it to bear upon them with all my might; and there were seventeen men awakened under that sermon. I never felt so triumphant in my life. I cried all

the way home. I said to myself, 'Now, I know how to preach.' I could not make another sermon for a month that was good for anything. I had used all my powder and shot on that one. But, for the first time in my life, I had got the idea of TAKING AIM. I soon added to it the idea of analyzing the people I was preaching to, and so taking aim for specialties." On the "Secret of Retaining Health" he says: "I have often been asked by what secret I retain health and vigor under labors multiform and continuous. I owe much to a good constitution, not spoiled by youthful excesses; much also to an early acquired knowledge of how to take care of myself, *to secure invariably a full measure of sleep*, to regard food as an engineer does fuel (to be employed economically and entirely with reference to the work to be done by the machine); much also to the habit of economizing social forces, and not wasting in needless conversation and pleasurable hilarities the spirit that would carry me through many days of necessary work; but, above all, to the possession of a hopeful disposition and natural courage, with sympathy with men, and to an unfailing trust in God; so that I have always worked for the love of working." Here is an incident easily available as an illustration from Mr. Beecher's experience when nearing land the coast of which was not yet visible: "When after the weary voyage that I first made across the ocean, sick, loathsome, I arose one morning and went upon the deck, holding on, crawling, thinking that I was but a worm, I smelt in the air some strange smell; and I said to the captain, 'What is that odor?' 'It is the land breeze from off Ireland,' he replied. I smelt the apple trees; I smelt the turf; I smelt the leaves; I smelt the grass. All my sickness departed. My eyes grew bright. My nausea had gone. With the land breeze thoughts of the nearness of the land came to me, and cured me better than diet or medicine could have done. And when, afar off, I saw the dim and hazy outline of the land, joy came. I experienced ecstasy in that moment. I had no sickness, and I walked the deck; glad that I was coming near to the land I had sailed for." Talking about "Loving the Unlovely" he confesses: "It is not troublesome for me to be interested in clean-faced, neat, nicely-dressed children, I like them so well. The poor that are moral, the self-respecting and the decorous, my equals in many things, and in some things often my superiors, I have no trouble in making my companions; but dirty-faced, impudent children I find it hardest to like. When a boy comes tagging after me and yelling, 'Henry Ward Beecher, he's a screecher,' and now and then puts in a stone by way of punctuation, I confess I do not exactly see the Christ that is in him." "I have found that the first hour in the morning after I awake is one of the clearest I have in the day; and if I want, before I arise, I have half an hour, or an hour, and look through the day, and digest many subjects that would naturally require clear-headedness. I thus save some hours before I get out of bed, in the course of the week, and regard them as clear gain." "I own the Episcopal Church; it is mine. I own the Presbyterian Church; there is not a good thing in it

that I do not own. I own the Methodist Church, and I will go to that Church when I have a mind to. I own the Baptist Church. I own the Lutheran Church. I own the Unitarian and Universalist Churches, if they have good ministers in them. I own the Swedenborgian Church. The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof. I am the Lord's; I am his son and heir. Anything that Christ loves I will love, anything that he uses I will use, and those whom he sits down among I will sit down among. . . . All Church systems are imperfect and partial; but they all stand for Christ and do him service." About affliction Mr. Beecher said: "I remember well the first child I gave back to God. O, how I besought God for the life of that child! Wide as heaven was, I filled it full of prayer and supplication. But in a few hours all hope faded, and he died and left me empty and blank. I had a sort of torpid faith. I yielded a sort of dumb, dull, unreasoning submission to the will of God. . . . In thinking the matter over I came to this consciousness: 'Heartache is good for you.' Therefore I said, 'Ache, heart, and take it out in aching.' I did not try to stop grieving. I let the tears run down my cheeks as freely as they would. When I saw other people's children, and thought of my own, and anguish took hold of me, I said to myself, 'It is good for you to suffer. Christ sits as a refiner, and is trying the gold, and when it is enough refined he will cease trying it. He is more interested in me than I am in myself. I am his property; he has invested in me; he has me to present before his Father's throne, and it is his business to bring me to the highest possible state of perfection. So long as he thinks I had better suffer, I shall suffer, blessed be his name.' . . . And now, when I look back upon that event, and see its relation to my own spiritual culture, and to my preparation as a pastor for comforting others, and think of the wells of tenderness which it opened up in me, and the impatience and ill government which it corrected in me, and the thousand elements of good which it wrought, I perceive that God was in it."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sixty-One Years of Itinerant Christian Life in Church and State. By THOMAS HALL PEARNE, D.D., author of *The World Harvest, The Two Churches*, etc. Crown 8vo., pp. 491. Printed for the Author. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.50.

To few who enter the Christian ministry is it given to round out so many years of harvesting or to glean in such widely scattered fields as has been the privilege of Dr. Pearne. It is impossible, within a limited space, to enumerate the many leading events which are included in his long retrospect. In the first period of his official life—according to the division which he makes of his ministerial service into eras—his recollections of the General Conference of 1844 are important. His descrip-

tion of "Life in Oregon," as constituting the second period of his work, is a vivid portrayal of the planting of Methodism in that region. As presiding elder and first editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate* he was himself a leading participant in the hardships and the success he describes. The future historian will be indebted to him, in this connection, for the correction of the statement that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the United States, and for his evidence of "the superior claims of Jason Lee and his associates over those of Dr. Whitman." Dr. Pearne's work in Tennessee, in the period of reconstruction following the war, was arduous and heroic. As United States Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, he was closely related to the Virginius incident, and records in a new setting some of the details of that thrilling tragedy. To the pastorate and the eldership in the Cincinnati Conference his last years have been devoted. His book, while retrospective, breathes with the spirit of activity and of participation in the present-day problems that are upon the Church. The many and widely scattered friends of Dr. Pearne will read the volume with special pleasure, and will wish for its author much more gleaning in the harvest field before the call shall come to rest.

The Story of John G. Paton, Told for Young Folks. By Rev. JAMES PATON, B.A. 12mo, pp. 409. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This marvelous account of thirty years among South Sea cannibals is now selling its fifteenth thousand. A new copyright edition is issued with two new chapters and forty-five full-page illustrations. Dr. Paton in his seventy-fifth year is still toiling on, inciting the Churches in Canada, the United States, and Australasia to claim and win for Jesus every island and tribe among the New Hebrides, and he would doubtless add the Ladrones, the Philippines, and all islands of all seas. John G. Paton is one of the victorious heroes of modern missions. This book is part of the modern Acts of the Apostles. It is worthy a place in any home or any Sabbath school library. The most unpleasant reading in it is a bit of history which shows the United States in a shameful light. This is it: "The sale of intoxicants, firearms, and ammunition to the New Hebrideans, by foreign traders, was decimating and demoralizing the natives. Opium and rum followed fast wherever the missionary pioneer had made things tolerably safe for the trader. Great Britain prohibited her own subjects from these dealings under heavy penalties. America was appealed to to follow suit." But the United States government under Benjamin Harrison and under Grover Cleveland declined to join in suppressing the villainous trade by which the souls and bodies of poor savages were debauched for gains that must be accursed. This looks like a black blot on our national escutcheon.

Lights and Shadows of American Life. By Rev. A. C. DIXON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 197. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

Dr. A. C. Dixon, pastor of the Hanson Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., is a man of fervent spirit and wide evangelistic labors both

in his own church and in other cities. This book is of like temper and worthy a place with the writings of F. B. Meyer, Andrew Murray, A. J. Gordon, and D. L. Moody. It shows that his fire is fed with anthracite, that under the flame of his fervor are firm substance, strong ideas, and definite arguments. He is not a ranter, but a reasoner. The chapters in this volume are, "Our Homes," "Our Bread-Winners," "Our Money-Makers," "Our Boys and Girls," "Our Amusements," "Our Sabbath," "Our Politics," "Our Cities," "Our Bible," "Our Churches," "Our Dangers," "Our Women," "Our Destiny." They are wise, earnest, and practical.

How to Make the Sunday School Go. By A. T. BREWER, Superintendent Epworth Memorial Sunday School, Cleveland, O. 12mo, pp. 191. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

If wise management can make the Sunday school "go" there is usually ground for hope that all other departments of Church work will take on vigor and success. The worth of such a practical book of suggestions as the present is therefore evident. Mr. Brewer has not himself written all the chapters of his work, but has elicited the contributions of many Sunday school workers having a practical knowledge of the theme they discuss. The subjects noticed are too many for enumeration. In fact, the numerous questions that challenge the thought and anxiety of the teacher seem all to have a place here. We judge it a valuable handbook of practical suggestions.

After Pentecost, What? A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought. By Rev. JAMES M. CAMPBELL, author of *Unto the Uttermost*, etc. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

How to Obtain Fullness of Power in Christian Life and Service. By R. A. TORREY, author of *How to Bring Men to Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 106. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

"*Another Comforter.*" A Study of the Mission of the Holy Ghost. By Rev. A. D. MCCLURE, Pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, N. C. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In the estimate of Mr. Campbell, the author of the first of these volumes, the supreme problem of the present Church is "the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its relation to the economy of redemption; and in so far as this problem is kept in the forefront will the Church be in the line of the divine purpose in the present day development of truth." The second book, by Mr. Torrey, recognizes that there are "many who do not even know that there is a life of abiding rest, joy, satisfaction, and power," and is written both for these and others who have not obtained. The final chapter on "The Power of a Surrendered Life" is pertinent and persuasive. The last book, by Mr. McClure, is a reverent study of the office work of the Holy Spirit, and cannot but be helpful to many. All the books are issued by a common publisher, and form part to the fast-increasing literature on the mission of the Spirit and his needed presence with the Church.

INDEX.

Acts and Galatians as Sources of the History of St. Paul: *Stewart*, 86.
Administration, Reforming City (Notes and Dis.), 463.
African Affairs, Some Phases of (Miss. Rev.), 823.
Alphabetic Writing (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 480.
Alsop: A Colloquy in Ethics, 270.
"Altchristlichen Litteratur, Die Chronologie der," etc. (For. Out.), 826.
Althaus, Paul (For. Out.), 321.
American Universities, Relative Advance of German and (Notes and Dis.), 955.
Amusements, Ethical Legislation on: *Bowne*, 370.
Amusements, Repeal of Paragraph on: *Mudge*, 387.
Anderson: George Richard Crooks, 345.
Anglican Bishops and Missions, The (Miss. Rev.), 142.
"Anglo-American Alliance" (Miss. Rev.), 984.
Anglo-Saxons the Lost Tribes: *Steele*, 213.
"Antoine Court et ses Sermons" (For. Out.), 488.
"Apologetik, Evangelische" (For. Out.), 650.
"Apostels Paulus, Die Psychologie des" (For. Out.), 988.
Appel, Heinrich (For. Out.), 320.
Archæology and Criticism (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 312.
Archæology, The United States and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 817.
Arnold, The Poetry of Matthew: *Hunt*, 757.
Articles, Policy regarding Contributed (Notes and Dis.), 792.
"Askese und Mönchthum" (For. Out.), 147.
Atonement as a Factor in Divine Government, The: *Fiske*, 913.
"Atonement, The Doctrine of the" (Arena), 126, 305.

"Ballad of Trees and the Master," Lanier's (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Bartholomew: The Theistic Value of Bowne's Idealism, 594.
Bashford: The World-Neighborhood, 359.
Baur, August (For. Out.), 146.
Beginnings of Humanism in Germany: *Ford*, 41.
Bengal, Progress of Woman in (Miss. Rev.), 145.
Berlin, Ninth Evangelical Social Congress (For. Out.), 830.
"Bibel und Naturwissenschaft, Schöpfung und Entwicklung nach" (For. Out.), 322.
Bible, Coleridge's Study of the (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Bilbie: How Jesus Became the Saviour, 454.
Bohemia, Hus and Present Demand for Home Rule in: *Crawford*, 681.
Borgia, The Real: *Starbuck*, 231.
Bowen: Walther von der Vogelweide, A Minnesinger of Yesterday, 575.
Bowne: Ethical Legislation by the Church, 370.
Bowne's Idealism, The Theistic Value of: *Bartholomew*, 594.
British and Ephesian Succession Theories, The Ancient: *Cooke*, 249.
Browning's Interpretation of Euripides, Value of: *Daniels*, 55.
Browning's "Paracelsus:" *Snow*, 712.
Browning's Power, Testimony to (Notes and Dis.), 464.
Buddha, Christ and, Resemblances and Contrasts: *Johnston*, 32.

Calvinism, Is [it] Dead? (Arena.) 472.
Carroll: Is Methodism Catholic? 177.
Catholic, Is Methodism? *Carroll*, 177.
Century, A Glory of Our: *Hyde*, 25.
Certificates as Substitutes for Conference Examinations (Itin. Club), 635.
Chaffee: The Significance of Current Religious Unrest, 559.
Character, The Divine (Arena), 307.
China, A Giant Awaking (Miss. Rev.), 821.
China, Thought-Drift in Japan and (Miss. Rev.), 483.
Christ and Buddha, Resemblances and Contrasts: *Johnston*, 32.
Christ's Presence with the Church, Dr. A. J. Lyman on (Notes and Dis.), 461.
Christ's Words, Truth of (Notes and Dis.), 622.
"Christenglaube im Bunde mit der Naturwissenschaft" (For. Out.), 143.
"Christian Education, New Forms of," Mrs. Humphry Ward's (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Christian Faith, Psychologically Considered (Arena), 120.
Christian Logic: *Craft*, 610.
Christian Science Against Itself: *Gifford*, 281.
"Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur," etc. (For. Out.), 826.
Church, Dr. A. J. Lyman, on Christ's Presence with (Notes and Dis.), 461.
Church Missionary Society, The: *Thoburn*, 9.
Church Music: *Hatfield*, 404.
Church Music (Arena), 633, 971.
Church, The Open and the Closed: *Magruder*, 769.
City Administration, Reforming (Notes and Dis.), 463.
Civic Idea, The Evolution of the: *Fall*, 899.
Civilization, Spain and Modern: *Swift*, 513.
Coe: Theory of Knowledge and Theism, 68.
Coleridge, Study of the Bible (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Colloquy in Ethics, A: *Alsop*, 270.
Colonization, Missions and (Miss. Rev.), 824.
Common Sense and Hypercriticism (Notes and Dis.), 956.

Commons: Value of Study of Political Economy to Christian Minister, 696.
Compromise Verdicts in Murder Cases (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Conference Examinations, Certificates as Substitutes for (Itin. Club), 635.
Conference, Swiss and German Christian Student (For. Out.), 828.
Congo Critic on Spanish-American War, A (Notes and Dis.), 960.
Congress, The Ninth Evangelical Social (For. Out.), 830.
Contributed Articles, Policy regarding (Notes and Dis.), 792.
Convention of German Freethinkers (For. Out.), 989.
Cooke: The Ancient British and Ephesian Succession Theories, 249.
"Court Antoine et ses Sermons" (For. Out.), 488.
Court of Honor in German Universities, The Movement for (For. Out.), 489.
Covenant of Salt, The: *Fradenburgh*, 937.
Craft: Christian Logic, 610.
Crawford: John Hus and Present Demand for Home Rule in Bohemia, 681.
Critical Reconstruction, A Bit of (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Criticism, Archæology and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 312.
Criticism in Certain Pulpit, Skeptical, (Notes and Dis.), 955.
Criticism, New Testament (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 977.
Critics, Hommel and the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 643.
Crooks, George Richard: *Anderson*, 345.
Crusading, Modern—Far Eastern Changes (Notes and Dis.), 292.

Daniels: Value of Browning's Interpretation of Euripides, 55.
Deaconess System, Recognized Defects of the German (For. Out.), 323.
Departure Proposed, A New: *Leonard*, 420.
"Departure Proposed, A New" (Arena), 634, 967.
Depravity, The Source of (Arena), 630.
Depravity, Total (Arena), 473.
Discoveries in Egypt, Recent (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 640.
"Disjointed Episcopacy, Our" (Arena), 806.
Divine Character, The (Arena), 307.
Divine Romance, A: *Steele*, 213.
"Doubt, The Function of" (Arena), 128, 811.
Downey: Some Friends of Mine, 524.
Dryer: The Renaissance—An Introductory View, 614.

Eastern Changes, Far—Modern Crusading (Notes and Dis.), 292.
Eaton: The Millennium is an Evolution, 587.
Ecclesiastical Event, A Suggestive (Itin. Club), 309.
Education in the Korean Peninsula (Miss. Rev.), 144.
"Education, New Forms of Christian" Mrs. Humphry Ward's (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Egypt, Recent Discoveries in (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 640.
"Einleitung in die Philosophie" (For. Out.), 487.
Eliot, A Word about George (Arena), 129.
Emerson and the Unitarian Ministry (Notes and Dis.), 460.
Emphasis in Preaching (Itin. Club), 815.
"Entwicklung der Menschen im Lichte christlich-rationaler Weltanschauung, Die" (For. Out.), 987.
"Entwicklung nach Bibel und Naturwissenschaft, Schöpfung und" (For. Out.), 322.
Ephesian Succession Theories, The Ancient British and: *Cooke*, 249.
"Episcopacy, Our Disjointed" (Arena), 806.
Episcopacy, The Missionary (Arena), 467.
Ethical Legislation by the Church: *Bowne*, 370.
Ethics, A Colloquy in: *Alsop*, 270.
Euripides, Value of Browning's Interpretation of: *Daniels*, 55.
"Eusebius, Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis" (For. Out.), 826.
Evangelical League, One Decade of (For. Out.), 490.
Evangelical Social Congress, The Ninth (For. Out.), 830.
"Evangelische Apologetik" (For. Out.), 650.
"Evolution, Is the Millennium an?" (Arena,) 306.
Evolution of the Civic Idea, The: *Fall*, 899.
Evolution, The Millennium is an: *Eaton*, 587.
Examinations, Certificates as Substitutes for Conference (Itin. Club), 635.

Faith, Christian, Psychologically Considered (Arena), 120.
Fall: The Evolution of the Civic Idea, 899.
Fiske: The Atonement as a Factor in Divine Government, 913.
Ford: Beginnings of Humanism in Germany, 41.
"Forward Movement," Some Phases of a (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Foster, New Volume of Bishop (Notes and Dis.), 460.
Fradenburgh: The Covenant of Salt, 937.
Freethinkers, Convention of German (For. Out.), 989.
Friends of Mine, Some: *Downey*, 524.
Frommel, G. (For. Out.), 985.
"Function of Doubt, The" (Arena), 128, 811.

Galatians, Acts and, as Sources of the History of St. Paul: *Stewart*, 86.
Genesis, The Fourteenth Chapter of (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 138.
Gentleman of Literature, The: *Quayle*, 187.
George Eliot, A Word about (Arena), 129.
German and American Universities, Relative Advance of (Notes and Dis.), 955.
German Christian Student Conference, Swiss and (For. Out.), 828.
German Deaconess System, Recognized Defects of the (For. Out.), 323.
German Estimate of Fourteenth International Conference of Young Men's Christian Association (For. Out.), 324.
German Freethinkers, Convention of (For. Out.), 989.
German Inner Mission and Work among Seamen, The (For. Out.), 653.
German State Church, Young Men's League of the (For. Out.), 652.

German Universities, Movement for a Court of Honor in (For. Out.), 489.
German Wesleyans, How [they] Became American Methodists (Miss. Rev.), 644.
Germany, Beginnings of Humanism in: *Ford*, 41.
Germany, Circulation of Religious Journals in (For. Out.), 490.
Germany, Ninth Evangelical Social Congress at Berlin (For. Out.), 830.
Germany, The Woman Question in (For. Out.), 653.
Giant Awaking, A (Miss. Rev.), 821.
Gifford: Christian Science against Itself, 281.
Gillilan: Mormon Theogony, 777.
Glory of Our Century, A: *Hyde*, 25.

Hall, Death of Dr. John—Tests of Successful Ministry (Itin. Club), 974.
Hall, Resignation of Dr. John (Itin. Club), 309.
"Hamlet"—A Character Sketch: *Whitlock*, 821.
Harrison: The Mileage and Tonnage of the Universe, 77.
Hatfield: Church Music, 404.
Hennecke, Edgar (For. Out.), 985.
"Higher Reconciling Truth, A" (Arena), 972.
Holy Ghost in Spiritual Perception, The: *Lathrop*, 781.
Hommel and the Critics (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 643.
How Jesus Became the Saviour: *Bilbie*, 454.
Hugo, Victor, on Spain's Expulsion from America (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Humanism in Germany, Beginnings of: *Ford*, 41.
Hunt: The Poetry of Matthew Arnold, 757.
Hus, John, and the Present Demand for Home Rule in Bohemia: *Crawford*, 681.
Hyde: A Glory of Our Century, 25.
Hypercriticism, Common Sense and (Notes and Dis.), 956.
Hypothetical Old Testament, The: *Stuart*, 534.

Idealism, The Theistic Value of Bowne's: *Bartholomew*, 594.
Illustration, A Neglected Source of (Arena), 304.
Inner Mission and Work among Seamen, German (For. Out.), 653.
"Irenäus, Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis," etc. (For. Out.), 826.
Italy, Condition and Activity of Waldenses in (For. Out.), 652.
Itinerants' Clubs, History and Methods of (Itin. Club), 130.

Japan and China, Thought-Drift in (Miss. Rev.), 483.
Japan, The Religious Future of (Miss. Rev.), 646.
Jargon, The Triumph of: *Thompson*, 426.
"Jesu, Das Leben" (For. Out.), 487.
"Jesus de Nazareth, Etudes critiques," etc. (For. Out.), 827.
Jesus, How [he] Became the Saviour: *Bilbie*, 454.
Johnston: Christ and Buddha, Resemblances and Contrasts, 32.
Journals, Circulation of Religious, in the Fatherland (For. Out.), 490.

"Katholischen Kirche, Die Orden und Kongregationen der" (For. Out.), 322.
Kautzsch, Emil (For. Out.), 825.
Kenosis, The: *McChesney*, 96.
Kenyon: Tennyson in New Aspects, 434.
Knowledge and Theism, Theory of: *Coe*, 68.
"Kirchengeschichte, Zeittafeln und Ueberblicke zur" (For. Out.), 986.
"Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche, Die Orden und (For. Out.), 322.
Korean Peninsula, Education in the (Miss. Rev.), 144.
Krarup, F. C. (For. Out.), 649.

Lanier's "Ballad of Trees and the Master" (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Lathrop: The Holy Ghost in Spiritual Perception, 781.
League, One Decade of the Evangelical (For. Out.), 490.
"Leben Jesu, Das" (For. Out.), 487.
Legge, D.D., LL.D., of Oxford, The late Professor (Miss. Rev.), 317.
Legislation by the Church, Ethical: *Bowne*, 370.
Leonard: A New Departure Proposed, 420.
Literature, The Gentleman in: *Quayle*, 187.
"Litteratur, Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen," etc. (For. Out.), 826.
Logic, Christian: *Craft*, 610.
Lost Tribes, The Anglo-Saxons the: *Steele*, 213.
"Luther's 'heiliges' Leben und 'heiliger' Tod" (For. Out.), 651.
Lyman, Dr. A. J., on Christ's Presence with the Church (Notes and Dis.), 461.

Magruder: The Open Church and the Closed Church, 769.
McChesney: The Kenosis, 96.
McLennan: St. Paul and Social Relations, 738.
Medeba, The Mosaic of (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 478.
"Menschen im Lichte christlich-rationaler Weltanschauung, Die Entwicklung" (For. Out.), 987.
Methodism, Is [it] Catholic? *Carroll*, 177.
Methodists, How German Wesleyans Became American (Miss. Rev.), 644.
Mezger, Paul (For. Out.), 485.
Mileage and Tonnage of the Universe, The: *Harrison*, 77.
"Millennium an Evolution, Is the?" (Arena,) 306.
Millennium is an Evolution, The: *Eaton*, 587.
Minister, Subjective Studies for the (Itin. Club), 308.
Minister, Value of the Study of Political Economy to the Christian: *Commons*, 696.
Ministry, The Tests of a Successful (Itin. Club), 974.
Mission, German Inner, and Work among Seamen (For. Out.), 653.
Missionary Episcopacy, The (Arena), 467.
Missionary Plan—A New Departure Proposed: *Leonard*, 420.
Missionary Plan—"A New Departure Proposed" (Arena), 634, 967.
Missionary Plan—The New Policy (Miss. Rev.), 647.
Missionary Society, The Church: *Thoburn*, 3.

Missions and Colonization (Miss. Rev.), 824.
Missions, The Anglican Bishops and (Miss. Rev.), 142.
Mitchell: The New Old Testament, 543.
Modern Civilization, Spain and: *Swift*, 513.
Modern Crusading—Far Eastern Changes (Notes and Dis.), 292.
Mohammedans, Missions to (Miss. Rev.), 982.
"Mönchthum, Askese und" (For. Out.), 147.
Monism, Recent (For. Out.), 149.
Monistic Psychology, The: *Rishell*, 863.
Morals, Opinions and (Notes and Dis.), 793.
Mormon Theogony: *Gillilan*, 777.
Mosaic of Medeba, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 478.
Moslem World, The Sultan not Pope of the (Miss. Rev.), 316.
Motto, An Old with New Significance (Itin. Club), 639.
Mudge, Dr. Spencer's Testimony to his Book (Notes and Dis.), 461.
Mudge: Reasons Against Repeal, 387.
Murder Cases, Compromise Verdicts in (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Music, Church: *Hatfield*, 404.
Music, Church (Arena), 633, 971.
Myth, The Philosophy of, etc.: *Russell*, 726.

"Naturwissenschaft, Christenglaube im Bunde mit der" (For. Out.), 148.
"Naturwissenschaft, Schöpfung und Entwicklung nach Bibel und (For. Out.), 322.
Neglected Source of Illustration, A (Arena), 304.
Neighborhood, The World-: *Bashford*, 359.
New Departure Proposed, A: *Leonard*, 420.
"New Departure Proposed, A" (Arena), 634, 967.
"New Forms of Christian Education," Mrs. Humphry Ward's (Notes and Dis.), 624.
New Old Testament, The: *Mitchell*, 543.
New Policy, The (Miss. Rev.), 647.
New Testament Criticism (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 977.
Nordheim, P. (For. Out.), 147.
"Novels and Sermons" (Arena), 470.

Old Motto with New Significance, An (Itin. Club), 639.
Old Testament, The Hypothetical: *Stuart*, 534.
Old Testament, The New: *Mitchell*, 543.
Open Church and the Closed Church, The: *Magruder*, 769.
Opinions and Morals (Notes and Dis.), 793.
Optimism or Pessimism—"A Higher Reconciling Truth" (Arena), 972.
Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche, Die" (For. Out.), 322.
Our Century, A Glory of: *Hyde*, 25.

"Paracelsus," Browning's: *Snow*, 712.
Parks: Frances Elizabeth Willard, the "White Ribbon Chieftain," 849.
Pastor, Psychology for the (Notes and Dis.), 115.
Pastoral Labor, Constancy *versus* Spasmodic Efforts in (Itin. Club), 474.
Paul, Acts and Galatians as Sources of the History of: *Stewart*, 86.
Paul and Social Relations, St.: *McLennan*, 738.
Paul, The Postcaptive Life of (Arena), 970.
"Paulus, Die Psychologie des Apostels" (For. Out.), 988.
Perception, The Holy Ghost in Spiritual: *Lathrop*, 781.
Pessimism, Optimism or—"A Higher Reconciling Truth" (Arena), 972.
"Philosophie, Einleitung in die" (For. Out.), 487.
Philosphy of Myth, The, etc.: *Russell*, 726.
Poetry of Matthew Arnold, The: *Hunt*, 757.
Policy, The New (Miss. Rev.), 647.
Political Economy, Value of the Study to the Christian Minister: *Commons*, 636.
Popular Sermons, What are? (Itin. Club,) 476.
Postcaptive Life of St. Paul, The (Arena), 970.
Preaching, Emphasis in (Itin. Club), 815.
Preaching, The Teaching Element in: *Tuttle*, 205.
Proof, Difficulties in Way of, etc.: *Russell*, 726.
Prussian General Synod, The Sociological Problem and the (For. Out.), 820.
"Psychologie des Apostels Paulus, Die" (For. Out.), 988.
Psychology for the Pastor (Notes and Dis.), 115.
Psychology, The Monistic: *Rishell*, 863.
Pulpit, Interpretations of Scripture in a Certain (Notes and Dis.), 955.

Quayle: The Gentleman in Literature, 187.

Real Borgia, The: *Starbuck*, 231.
Reasons Against Repeal: *Mudge*, 387.
Recent Discoveries in Egypt (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 640.
"Reconciling Truth, A Higher" (Arena), 972.
Reconstruction, A Bit of Critical (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Reforming City Administration (Notes and Dis.), 463.
Reischle, Max (For. Out.), 648.
Religious Journals in the Fatherland, Circulation of (For. Out.), 490.
Religious Unrest, The Significance of Current: *Chaffee*, 559.
Renaissance, The—An Introductory View: *Dryer*, 614.
Repeal, Reasons Against: *Mudge*, 387.
Revelation xxii, 14—A Significant Textual Emendation (Itin. Club), 973.
Review, Cutting Leaves of (Notes and Dis.), 292.
Review, Policy regarding Contributed Articles (Notes and Dis.), 792.
Review, Seventy-nine Volumes of (Notes and Dis.), 111.
Reviews and Magazines:
American Journal of Archæology, 483; Bibliotheca Sacra, 153, 492, 655, 831, 991; Chautauquan, 657, 833; Christian City, 328; Christian Quarterly, 327, 833, 994; Conference Examiner, 155; Edinburgh, 327, 656, 833; Homiletic Review, 833; London Quarterly, 328, 492, 833; Lutheran Quarterly, 994; Methodist Review, Church South, 157, 833; New World, 493, 657, 993; Nineteenth Century, 154, 328, 654, 832, 992; North American, 152, 328, 491, 831, 991; Princeton

byterian and Reformed, 326, 994; Presbyterian Quarterly, 493; Religious Review of Reviews, 328; Review of Reviews, 325.
Rishell: The Monistic Psychology, 863.
Romance, A Divine: *Steele*, 213.
Romanist, Was Von Moltke a, at Heart? (For. Out.,) 324.
Rome, Savonarola and: *Starbuck*, 919.
Rossetti's Devotional Prose, Christina (Notes and Dis.), 798.
Russell: The Philosophy of Myth, etc., 726.

Saint Paul, Acts and Galatians as Sources of the History of: *Stewart*, 86.
Saint Paul and Social Relations: *McLennan*, 738.
Saint Paul, The Postcaptive Life of (Arena), 970.
Salt, The Covenant of: *Fradenburgh*, 937.
Saviour, How Jesus Became the: *Bilbie*, 454.
Savonarola and Rome: *Starbuck*, 919.
Savonarola Year (Notes and Dis.), 955.
"Schöpfung, und Entwicklung nach Bibel und Naturwissenschaft" (For. Out.), 322.
Science, Christian, Against Itself: *Gifford*, 281.
Scripture, Interpretations of, in a Certain Pulpit (Notes and Dis.), 955.
Seamen, German Inner Mission and Work among (For. Out.), 653.
Self-support on the Foreign Field (Miss. Rev.), 981.
Sermon, Things to be Avoided in a (Itin. Club), 638.
Sermons, Condensed—An Old Motto with New Significance (Itin. Club), 639.
"Sermons, Novels and" (Arena), 470.
Sermons, What are Popular? (Itin. Club,) 476.
Shintoism, Twentieth Century (Miss. Rev.), 319.
Significance of Current Religious Unrest, The: *Chaffee*, 559.
Simpson, Mrs. Ellen H. (Notes and Dis.), 294.
Skeptical Criticism in Certain Pulpit (Notes and Dis.), 955.
Snow: Browning's "Paracelsus," 712.
Social Congress, The Ninth Evangelical (For. Out.), 830.
Social Relations, St. Paul and: *McLennan*, 738.
Sociological Problem and Prussian General Synod, The (For. Out.), 829.
Some Friends of Mine: *Downey*, 524.
Source of Depravity, The (Arena), 630.
Source of Illustration, A Neglected (Arena), 304.
Spain and Modern Civilization: *Swift*, 513.
Spain's Expulsion from America, Victor Hugo on (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Spanish-American War, A Congo Critic on the (Notes and Dis.), 960.
Spiritual Perception, The Holy Ghost in: *Lathrop*, 781.
Starbuck: Savonarola and Rome, 919.
Starbuck: The Real Borgia, 231.
Steele: A Divine Romance, 213.
Stewart: Acts and Galatians as Sources of the History of St. Paul, 86.
Stosch, G. (For. Out.), 826.
Stuart: The Hypothetical Old Testament, 534.
Student Conference, Swiss and German Christian (For. Out.), 828.
Subjective Studies for the Minister (Itin. Club), 308.
Substance, A Short Study in (Arena), 123.
Successful Ministry, The Tests of a (Itin. Club), 974.
Succession Theories, The Ancient British and Ephesian: *Cooke*, 249.
Suggestive Ecclesiastical Event, A (Itin. Club), 309.
Sultan not Pope of the Moslem World, The (Miss. Rev.), 316.
Support on the Foreign Field, Self- (Miss. Rev.), 981.
Swift: Spain and Modern Civilization, 513.
Swiss and German Christian Student Conference (For. Out.), 828.

Teaching Element in Preaching, The: *Tuttle*, 205.
Tennyson in New Aspects: *Kenyon*, 434.
Tests of a Successful Ministry, The (Itin. Club), 974.
Textual Emendation, A Significant (Itin. Club), 973.
Theism, Theory of Knowledge and: *Coe*, 68.
Theistic Value of Bowne's Idealism, The: *Bartholomew*, 594.
Thoburn: The Church Missionary Society, 9.
Thompson: The Triumph of Jargon, 426.
Thought-Drift in Japan and China (Miss. Rev.), 483.
Total Depravity (Arena), 473.
Tribes, The Anglo-Saxons the Lost: *Steele*, 213.
Triumph of Jargon, The: *Thompson*, 426.
"Truth, A Higher Reconciling" (Arena), 972.
Tuttle: The Teaching Element in Preaching, 205.
Twentieth Century Shintoism (Miss. Rev.), 319.

"Ueberblicke zur Kirchengeschichte, Zeittafeln und" (For. Out.), 986.
United States and Archæology, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 817.
Universe, The Mileage and Tonnage of the: *Harrison*, 77.
Universities, Movement for a Court of Honor in German (For. Out.), 489.
Universities, Relative Advance of German and American (Notes and Dis.), 955.
Unrest, The Significance of Current Religious: *Chaffee*, 559.

Vacation, Resultants of the Minister's (Itin. Club), 813.
Verdicts in Murder Cases, Compromise (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Vogelweide, Walther von der, A Minnesinger of Yesterday: *Bowen*, 575.
Von Moltke a Romanist at Heart, Was? (For. Out.,) 324.

Waldenses in Italy, Condition and Activity of (For. Out.), 652.
Ward's "New Forms of Christian Education," Mrs. Humphry (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Wesleyans, How German, Became American Methodists (Miss. Rev.), 644.
Whitlock: "Hamlet"—A Character Sketch, 881.
Willard, Frances Elizabeth, the "White Ribbon Chieftain:" *Parks*, 849.

Woman in Bengal, Progress of (Miss. Rev.), 145.
Woman Question in Germany, The (For. Out.), 653.
World-Neighborhood, The: *Bashford*, 359.
Writing, Alphabetic (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 489.
Wuttig, O. (For. Out.), 486.

Young Men's Christian Association, German Estimate of Fourteenth International Conference of the (For. Out.), 990.
Young Men's League of the German State Church (For. Out.), 652.

"Zeittafeln und Ueberblicke zur Kirchengeschichte" (For. Out.), 986.

BOOK NOTICES.

After Pentecost, What? *Campbell*, 1016.
Alaska, Through the Gold Fields of, to Bering Straits: *De Windt*, 676.
American Christianity, A History of: *Bacon*, 174.
American Life, Lights and Shadows of: *Dixon*, 1015.
American Songs and Lyrics, The Golden Treasury of: *Knowles*, 337.
American Verse, A Treasury of: *Learned*, 512.
Analytics of Literature: *Sherman*, 663.
Ancient World, The Preparation for Christianity in the: *Wenley*, 512.
Andrews: Christianity and Anti-Christianity in Their Final Conflict. 837.
"Another Comforter:" *McClure*, 1016.
Anti-Christianity, Christianity and, in their Final Conflict: *Andrews*, 837.
Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher: *Ellinwood*, 1011.
Azhderian: The Turk and the Land of Haig, 847.

Bacon: A History of American Christianity, 174.
Barker: History of Ohio Methodism, 680.
Barrows: Christianity the World-Religion, 163.
Bates: Christian Science and Its Problems, 848.
Bates: Talks on the Study of Literature, 167.
Beecher, Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward: *Ellinwood*, 1011.
Bell: Christina Rossetti, 843.
Bering Straits, Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to: *De Windt*, 676.
Bible, A Dictionary of: *Hastings*, etc., 661.
Bliss: A Concise History of Missions, 344.
Boston, If Jesus Came to: *Hale*, 343.
Bowne: The Christian Revelation, 998.
Brewer: How to Make the Sunday School Go, 1016.
Brodbeck: Sermons and Addresses, 679.
Browning, The Best of: *Mudge*, 504.
Browning, The Poetical Works of Robert, 336.
Burrell: "For Christ's Crown," and Other Sermons, 176.

Campbell: After Pentecost, What? 1016.
Cathay, A Cycle of: *Martin*, 172.
Chapman: Emerson, and Other Essays, 666.
Cheerful Yesterdays: *Higginson*, 669.
Christ and the Critics: *Gerôme*, 836.
Christ, Creation Centered in: *Guinness*, 162.
Christ, The Story of Jesus: *Phelps*, 330.
Christian Church, History of the: *Hurst*, 506.
Christian Evidences, Scientific Aspects of: *Wright*, 156.
Christian Revelation, The: *Bowne*, 998.
Christian Science and Its Problems: *Bates*, 848.
Christianity, A History of American: *Bacon*, 174.
Christianity and Anti-Christianity in Their Final Conflict: *Andrews*, 837.
Christianity, The Preparation for, in the Ancient World: *Wenley*, 512.
Christianity the World-Religion: *Barrows*, 163.
Church, History of the Christian: *Hurst*, 506.
Coates: Poems, 842.
Collections and Recollections, 1008.
College Student, The Evolution of the: *Hyde*, 1000.
Color, Outlines in Local: *Matthew*, 344.
"Comforter, Another:" *McClure*, 1016.
Comparative Theology, Studies in: *Trever*, 658.
Cooke: Early Letters of George William Curtis, 1005.
Cooke: Poets and Problems, 336.
Cooke, The Life Story of Bella, etc.: *Pullman*, 678.
Copeland: Poems, Pastoral and Psalm, 175.
Corbin: Schoolboy Life in England, 176.
Creation Centered in Christ: *Guinness*, 162.
Creation, Evolution or: *Townsend*, 499.
Curtis, Early Letters of George William: *Cooke*, 1005.
Cycle of Cathay, A: *Martin*, 172.

Davis: A Year from a Reporter's Notebook, 176.
Dawson: Relics of Primeval Life, 167.
Death in Evolution, The Place of: *Smyth*, 334.
De Windt: Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Straits, 676.
Dictionary of the Bible, A: *Hastings*, 661.
Dixon: Lights and Shadows of American Life, 1015.

Early Letters of George William Curtis: *Cooke*, 1005.
Ellinwood: Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher, 1011.
Emerson, and Other Essays: *Chapman*, 666.
England, Schoolboy Life in: *Corbin*, 176.
Evangelical Faith, The Ritschlian Theology and the: *Orr*, 329.
Evidences, Scientific Aspects of Christian: *Wright*, 156.
Evolution of the College Student, The: *Hyde*, 1000.
Evolution or Creation: *Townsend*, 499.
Evolution, The Place of Death in: *Smyth*, 334.

Faith, The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical: *Orr*, 329.
Fields: Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe, 508.
Fiske: The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge, 344.

"For Christ's Crown," and Other Sermons: *Burrell*, 176.
Foster: God: Nature and Attributes, 494.
France under Louis XV: *Perkins*, 170.
Fullness of Power in Christian Life and Service, How to Obtain: *Torrey*, 1016.

Gérôme: Christ and the Critics, 836.
Glory of the Imperfect, The: *Palmer*, 839.
God: Nature and Attributes: *Foster*, 494.
God, The Idea of, as Affected by Modern Knowledge: *Fiske*, 344.
Golden Treasury of American Songs and Lyrics, The: *Knowles*, 337.
Goodell: Sermons and Addresses by William Nast Brodbeck, D.D., 679.
Greek Testament, Praxis in Manuscripts of: *Sitterly*, 999.
Guinness: Creation Centered in Christ, 162.

Hale: If Jesus Came to Boston, 343.
Hamill: Easy Lessons in Vocal Culture and Vocal Expression, 848.
Hastings, etc.: A Dictionary of the Bible, 661.
Higginson: Cheerful Yesterdays, 669.
Hugo, The Letters of Victor: *Meurice*, 673.
Hurst: History of the Christian Church, 506.
Hyde: The Evolution of the College Student, 1000.

If Jesus Came to Boston: *Hale*, 343.
Immortality, The Hope of: *Welldon*, 834.
Imperfect, The Glory of the: *Palmer*, 839.
In the Permanent Way: *Steel*, 343.
Incarnation in Certain Practical Relations, The Truth of the: *Lyman*, 496.
Itinerant Christian Life in Church and State, Sixty-one Years: *Pearne*, 1014.

Jesus Christ, The Story of: *Phelps*, 330.
Jesus, If [he] Came to Boston: *Hale*, 343.

Knowledge, The Idea of God as Affected by Modern: *Fiske*, 344.
Knowles: The Golden Treasury of American Songs and Lyrics, 337.

Lanciani: The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, 340.
Lawrence: Visions and Service, 332.
Learned: A Treasury of American Verse, 512.
Letters and Life, Studies in: *Woodberry*, 502.
Letters of Celia Thaxter, 164.
Letters of George William Curtis, Early: *Cooke*, 1005.
Letters of Victor Hugo, The: *Meurice*, 673.
Liddon: Sermons Preached on Special Occasions, 995.
Life, Relics of Primeval: *Dawson*, 167.
Lights and Shadows of American Life: *Dixon*, 1015.
Literature, Analytics of: *Sherman*, 663.
Literature, Talks on the Study of: *Bates*, 167.
Local Color, Outlines in: *Matthews*, 344.
Louis XV, France under: *Perkins*, 170.
Lyman: The Truth of the Incarnation in Certain Practical Relations, 496.
Lyrics, The Golden Treasury of American Songs and: *Knowles*, 337.

Manuscripts of the Greek Testament, Praxis in: *Sitterly*, 999.
Martin: A Cycle of Cathay, 172.
Matthews: Outlines in Local Color, 344.
McClure: "Another Comforter," 1016.
Methodism, History of Ohio: *Barker*, 680.
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Old Testament, Critical Remarks upon Some Passages of the: *Ruben*, 161.
Orr: The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith, 329.
Ottley: Aspects of the Old Testament, 159.
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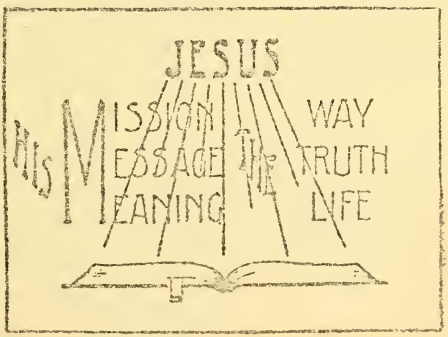

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